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RECORDS[✓]
Revised
OF A FAMILY
1800—1933

PIONEERS IN EDUCATION,
SOCIAL SERVICE AND
LIBERAL RELIGION

BY

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MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

1935

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Published by the University of Manchester at The University Press
(H. M. McKechnie, M.A., Secretary), 8-10 Wright Street, Manchester 15

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TO

ANNIE BEARD WOODHOUSE

WHOSE REVERENCE FOR THE MEMORY OF HER " FAMILY "
INSPIRED THE COMPILATION OF THIS " RECORD ", AND
WHOSE ASSISTANCE IN COLLECTING MATERIALS FOR IT
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PREFACE

"RECORDS OF A FAMILY" consists of nine biographical sketches and an annotated autobiographical fragment by one, who, in her own person, unites the two branches of the family. Not all are equal in interest or importance, but, as Sir Michael Sadler said recently (*Life and Letters*, October, 1934): "Certain families in England transmit exceptional powers of mind or feeling, and this power shows itself in different forms in successive generations." Religious tradition counts for much in what is fundamental in the character and writings of members of a family. Here the Unitarian tradition is exemplified, and the "Records" here preserved will appeal primarily to members of that community. It is hoped, however, they may also appeal to all interested in Education, Social Service, and Religious Freedom, for which the Beards and Dendys laboured unceasingly.

Acknowledgement for the loan of manuscript materials is gratefully made to the Incorporated Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded, and to Mrs. A. Lane Poole, of Oxford. To Miss Ethel Sidgwick, Oxford, and to Professor Doris L. Mackinnon, King's College, London, warm thanks are tendered for intimate impressions of friends; and to A. Barrett, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, for permission to print the letter of Charles Beard to W. E. Gladstone. To others, unnamed, who have lent manuscripts or printed materials, acknowledgement is also made for the help thus rendered.

The Rev. W. Whitaker, M.A., of Knutsford, has kindly read the proofs.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. JOHN RELLY BEARD, D.D.	I
2. CHARLES BEARD, B.A., LL.D.	36
3. JAMES RAIT BEARD, J.P.	76
4. SIR LEWIS BEARD	86
5. MARY SHIPMAN BEARD	95
6. RECOLLECTIONS BY SARAH DENDY (NÉE BEARD)	104
7. JOHN DENDY, O.B.E.	128
8. MARY DENDY, M.A.	135
9. HELEN BOSANQUET (NÉE DENDY), LL.D.	185
10. ARTHUR DENDY, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S.	205
INDEX	223
GENEALOGICAL TREE	<i>facing p. 240</i>

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
1. JOHN RELLY BEARD	I
2. "THE APOSTLES" (JOHN RELLY BEARD, CHARLES BEARD AND THEIR FRIENDS)	24
3. CHARLES BEARD	36
4. JAMES RAIT BEARD	76
5. SIR LEWIS BEARD	86
6. MARY SHIPMAN BEARD	95
7. SARAH BEARD WITH JAMES RAIT BEARD	104
8. JOHN DENDY	128
9. MARY DENDY	135
10. HELEN BOSANQUET (NÉE DENDY)	185
11. ARTHUR DENDY	205



JOHN RELY BEARD

JOHN RELLY BEARD, D.D.

(4 August, 1800—22 November, 1876)

EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION, SETTLEMENT AND MARRIAGE

JOHN RELLY BEARD was born, 4 August, 1800, at 24, Charlotte Row, Landport, Portsmouth. He "had the good fortune", as he once remarked, "not to be born with a silver spoon in his mouth". He boasted no illustrious lineage nor any purse-proud forebears. The family originally hailed from Devonshire, and the first glimpse of John Relly Beard appears in a letter to his mother (*née* Ann Paine) from his father, who had taken the boy (then five years old) on a visit to a brother, Richard Bowden, in Newton Abbot. They went by sea from Portsmouth to Brixham, and they walked to Newton, "leaving about 8 and arriving at half-past one". The child, it is not surprising to learn, was "carried two or three times a little way".

His father, John Beard (1775–1831), was a small tradesman in Portsmouth, whose scant resources seldom proved superior to the claims of his family. Of his nine children, John Relly, the eldest, was named John after his father and Relly after James Relly (1722 ?–1778), formerly a preacher in George Whitefield's society, whose Universalist doctrine John Beard had recently embraced. Another son he named James Rait, after Relly's successor (d. 29 March, 1819), who probably converted him from Calvinism. Two other sons, Joseph and Richard, were eventually to seek their fortune in America, the former becoming a prosperous auctioneer in New Orleans, whose slave-selling alienated him from some members of his family, but not from John Relly, even when he had become a strong anti-slavery man.

The comparative poverty of Beard's childhood, and his early acquaintance with the relics of Calvinism in his father, helped to fashion the thought of the future radical, educationalist, and militant protagonist of Unitarian Christianity.

"My father," he wrote, "a kind, intelligent, and single-minded man, had inherited a rigid Calvinism, by which he was almost driven

to suicide. As his eldest child, I shared his inmost thoughts, and heard how he had been tormented with the fear of Hell, not being able to persuade himself that he was one of the few favourites of heaven."

In his first public manifesto on education (1833), John Relly Beard said: "In every man, rich or poor, I see a brother . . . I see not why any class should keep their seats if they can be kept only by holding others in degrading vassalage of ignorance," and in his lectures on *The Religion of Jesus Christ defended from the Assaults of Owenism* (1839), he defined his position towards the new movement for social reform:

"Though I have my doubts whether the new economical arrangements proposed in *The New Moral World* would prove much better than delusions, yet so firmly am I convinced that their salvation must, in the main, be wrought out by themselves, and, moreover, so well do I augur of at least the indirect results of any honest and earnest effort after social improvement, that I, for one, not only have no quarrel with the disciples of *The New Moral World* in their attempts to better their conditions and the condition of the many, but can do no other than look with interest and hope on their undertaking."

Beard began his education at a local Grammar School kept by a Mr. Bowyer in Waterloo Place, in the vicinity of the little chapel at Dock Row, which the family attended, and where his father frequently preached. It was a school of "not fewer than 200 boys", crowded in a single lofty room. The presiding pedagogue was a severe martinet. Like Tom Hood's "Irish Schoolmaster":

He never spared the rod and spoiled the child,
But spoiled the rod and never spared the child.

Bowyer, however, preferred a piece of rope, "a foot long and an inch in diameter", says Beard, with which he belaboured the boys at intervals both liberally and impartially. From his exalted seat, he would throw the rope at the negligent and inattentive, and, when it was brought to him, inflict a suitable number of stripes. "He was not a bad marksman, yet not seldom the bolt of this petty Jove smote the innocent." When the rope was not handy, he plucked the hair and nipped the ears of his pupils. His most ingenious device for inflicting punishment was probably suggested to him by the exhibition of Socrates in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes.

"From the roof of the high schoolroom there was suspended a huge basket, which could be let down or raised by tackling. . . . Few boys were there who had not been made to take their stand

herein, after which it was elevated between the roof and the floor, where the unfortunate wight remained suspended for hours—sometimes an entire day.”

By these means, and others, more academic, but less original, he introduced his pupils to the classics and the rudiments of an English education. Beard must have worked, for he gained many prizes, the first of which, Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, he read and re-read. But what influenced him most in after life was his vivid memory of the cruel discipline in the school, its mechanical methods of teaching by rote, its lack of equipment, and its neglect of science and of moral instruction. Domestic penury, at length, rescued him from the toils of the tyrannical pedant. The defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo led to the curtailment of expenditure at Portsmouth, and the trade depression which followed compelled John Beard to take his son into business for a time. In his spare moments, John Rely continued his studies in the company of a group of young men of like mind. Already, as a youth of sixteen, he had tried his prentice hand at preaching, under the eye and direction of his father, in the little Universalist tabernacle at Dock Row. Another development in his father's faith was to improve his own educational fortunes. Still reacting against his earlier Calvinism, John Beard was attracted to the preacher at the Unitarian Chapel, High Street, Portsmouth. As late as 21 April, 1821, when he spoke at High Street Chapel and acknowledged his indebtedness to its library, John Beard is described as “One of the ministers of a Universalist Society”, but before that date many members of the Society had joined High Street, and John Beard followed later. The minister at High Street, Russell Scott (1760–1834), whose nephew¹ founded *The Manchester Guardian*, was an old student of Daventry, Homerton, and Hoxton Academies, and had himself passed from Calvinism to Unitarianism. He was a preacher of some distinction, and his published sermons, especially one on *The Scriptural Claims of the Devil* (1822), attracted considerable attention. The association of John Beard with High Street Chapel brought his son under influences destined to shape his theology, and open for him a way into the ministry. Connected with the chapel was the family of Sir James Carter (1741–1808), one time Mayor and Sheriff, whose son, John Bonham Carter, for twenty-one years M.P. for the town, was married to a daughter of William Smith, M.P. for Norwich, the stalwart champion of toleration,

¹ John Edward Taylor.

who introduced into Parliament the Trinity Bill of 1813, which legalised the tenure by Unitarians of their ancient chapels. The attention of the Carters being drawn to the studious youth enabled Beard to spend some time at a boarding-school in France. Being the only English pupil in the school, he gained a mastery of French which he never subsequently lost. On his return to Portsmouth in 1818, he was placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Neave and later of Dr. Thorillon in preparation for entering Manchester College, York, which he did in 1820.

“Never shall I forget”, said Beard forty-four years later, “the occasion when, just before I went to York, Mr. Scott, laying his hand on my head, said: ‘I think you will do something for the advancement of Unitarian Christianity.’”

To Russell Scott, his “constant benefactor”, as he called him, Beard dedicated his *Historical Evidences of Christianity* in 1826, “the first-fruits of a mind which is indebted to his kindness and liberality for whatsoever it may possess”, and in 1832 named one of his sons after him.

The principal tutor at York was Charles Wellbeloved, and his colleagues were William Turner and John Kenrick. In his first year, the students numbered twenty-two, fifteen divinity students and seven lay students; in his last year there were twenty divinity students and ten lay students. Amongst his contemporaries were Edward Tagart and James Martineau. During his course, Beard enjoyed a College exhibition and a bursary from the Lady Hewley Fund.

As a student, he was distinguished in more ways than one. Fond of frolic and possessing a fund of humour, he led the revels of the collegians. “Beard was regarded as the idol of the ‘sinners’, while Martineau was counted chief of the ‘Saints’.”¹ None the less, he was diligent and conscientious in study, and profited much from the scholarship of Wellbeloved and Kenrick, to whose remarkable teaching Martineau afterwards paid warm tributes. Indeed, in his philosophy and scriptural doctrine, as in his Greek without accents and Hebrew without points, the “sinner” was to the end more truly a son of York than the “saint”.

In his first and second years, Beard won the most coveted Prize—“For Diligence, Regularity and Proficiency”. In 1822, Dr. Thomas Foster Barham (1795–1869), a layman with an enthusiasm

¹ J. E. Carpenter, *James Martineau*, p. 38.

for Greek scholarship, provided the College with a prize for the best Greek composition. This prize, together with the prize for Classical knowledge, he carried off for three years in succession. Fifth-year students did not compete for prizes.

But academic pursuits and the gaieties of collegiate life failed to exhaust his energy, and the missionary zeal, which was to characterise his ministry, was first manifest at College. With little encouragement from his tutors, he took a prominent part in the organisation of a students' society for the spread of Unitarianism in the neighbouring villages. The petition to the College authorities for the sanction of these unwonted proceedings appears "to belong to the autumn of 1822, and the writing seems to be Beard's, whose signature follows that of J. H. Ryland, the senior student". As a result of the efforts of the youthful missionaries, one chapel, at Welburn, was built, and another, at Malton, rescued from perishing. When the chapel at Welburn was opened, 20 March, 1825, "there were so many around the doors who could not gain admission that Beard preached to a large congregation in a neighbouring field". It is reported that later, "when some of Sydney Smith's parishioners joined the little congregation, the witty canon called upon Mr. Wellbeloved at York, and protested that if he allowed the students to come stealing his game, as they were doing, he would hire the public-house adjoining the College, and see if *he* could not do a little poaching too".

Beard left College in 1825, and at Midsummer entered upon the ministry of the recently formed congregation at Greengate, Salford, with a stipend of £120 per annum. The value attached to the services of the new recruit may be estimated from the fact that in 1835, out of 19 congregations in the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, 17 offered stipends under £100, 15 under £80, 13 under £70, 10 under £60, 8 under £50, and 2 under £40. Unhappily, Beard's stipend did not remain at the original figure.

Next year, 28 June, 1826, Beard married the lady of his choice—"the beautiful Mary Barnes", as she was called—in the Parish Church of Portsea, Portsmouth. Born 3 November, 1802, at Swanage, she was the daughter of Charles Barnes of Portsmouth, a fellow-worshipper with John Beard at Dock Row, and, like him, a convert from Calvinism, so that bride and bridegroom had been acquainted from childhood. Charles Barnes (1776–1859), who belonged to an old Hampshire family, was a ship carpenter,

acquainted in youth with French prisoners of war in Portsmouth, and, as a boy, had witnessed the loss of the *Royal George*, which, under repairs there in 1783, went down with 900 lives on board. The loss was immortalised by William Cowper in the lines beginning :

Toll for the brave,
The brave that are no more.
All sunk beneath the wave,
Fast by their native shore.

The day after the marriage ceremony, following the practice borrowed by Unitarians from the Free Thinking Christians, the newly-married pair handed to the officiating clergyman their signed declaration embodying a " protest against such parts of the service as imply our credence in the unscriptural doctrine of the Trinity ".

The marriage proved a true union of hearts, enduring half a century, where, it was said, " she set herself to him like perfect music unto noble words ". They took up their residence at Woodlands Terrace, Bury New Road, Manchester. The straitened means of the household are reflected by the fact that, after the birth of his first child (Charles), Beard spent his last ten shillings on grapes for his wife.

THE SCHOOLMASTER

Necessity, not less than inclination, led Beard to undertake the duties of schoolmaster, an office for which he was well equipped. Beard's school, like those of Unitarian ministers generally, was open to all-comers, episcopalians, nonconformists and Jews alike. At the outset, he took in only half a dozen boarders, in addition to day scholars. In 1833, the prospects were so promising that he built a house, " Stony Knolls ", in Great Cheetham Street, which afforded accommodation for many more boarders, and a much larger number of day-boys. The school possessed a library, large playground, scientific apparatus, a gymnasium, and garden plots for cultivation by the boys, with " a smoking house of bacon " in the yard. Mrs. Beard, with the assistance of a lady help, had charge of the domestic arrangements. Miss S. S. Laing, from her long residence in the family, became known as " Auntie Zulie ", and acted for many years as secretary to Beard.

For ten years Beard was assisted by James Riddell McKee (1805-83), an Irishman educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, who for some time was a partner in the school. He

left in 1843 to take charge of a school in Tavistock, and married, 2 January, 1844, Louisa Caroline, daughter of the Rev. John Jeffrey of Billingshurst, the companion and friend of Harriet Martineau on her American travels. Subsequently, he kept a school at Pendleton, and was minister (1854-73) at High Street Chapel, Shrewsbury. Amongst other assistants¹ in the school at different times were Henry Green, M.A., who afterwards kept a successful school at Knutsford, a Scotsman named Peter Livingstone, a German named Crains, two Frenchmen, a Pole, William Napier, for long a Unitarian minister in Ireland, and J. T. Dodd, a drawing master, whose water-colour drawings of Old Halls, originally prepared for an illustrated *Itinerary of the County of Lancaster* by Cyrus Redding and John Relly Beard (published in 1842), were exhibited at the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition of 1887.

The curriculum of the school included Classics, English Subjects, Science (Chemistry, Mathematics, Geology and Physiology) and Modern Languages. The fees ranged from forty to sixty guineas for boarders, according to age, and from eight to twelve guineas for day scholars, with extras for Modern Languages, Drilling, Music, and Dancing, and a special fee for the use of the Library.

William Henry Herford (1820-1908),² a well-known educational pioneer and early disciple of Froebel and Pestalozzi, always acknowledged his obligations to his old teacher. Writing in 1876 to Beard, he said: "My indebtedness to you begins about 1835, when I came to your school, having till then been gnawing"—with particularly little appetite—"the asinine meal of sow-thistles and bramble, as Milton calls it, meaning thereby the classical and mathematical education—*more majorum*—at the Manchester Grammar School. The introduction to literature, the rational geometry and natural science which you provided for us, were all openings-up of rich feasts, after starvation. Myself, as you know, pretty much of an idealist in education, I shall always look upon you as one of the Reformers before the Reformation". Again, writing thirty-two years later, 28 January, 1908, to Beard's youngest son, Herford, then 87 years of age, paid tribute to Beard's "valuable assistant, J. R. McKee", and added:

"Your father had gifts, and set up disciplines, as the Germans would call them, which shewed him to belong to such reformers as

¹ For other teachers and a sketch of the school, see *Recollections by Sarah Dendy*, pp. 115-116.

² D.N.B.

Dr. Arnold and Dr. Samuel Butler,¹ and, at the same time, to have imbibed sound principles, deriving through Froebel and Pestalozzi—even from Rousseau.”

The School Report for the half-year ending June 10, 1840, shows that the pupils numbered 57, whose ages ranged from 7 to 15, more than half being 12 or over. These included, amongst others, W. V. Herford, who went into Law, emigrated to Australia and was killed in the Maori War of 1861, whilst serving as a volunteer; Charles Beard, who, though only 12, was, in point of merit, at the head of the school; William Barton Worthington, the engineer; Brooke Herford, Beard's colleague at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, 1860–73, and Hon. D.D. of Harvard University; Thomas and Alfred Worthington of the well-known Manchester family; and Samuel Pope, a distinguished barrister, and, at his death in 1901, the leader of the parliamentary bar. John Ashton Nicholls, a pupil of an earlier day, who boarded in the school for six years, became a strenuous social reformer, to whose memory Nicholls Hospital, Hyde Road, was erected by his father, a stained-glass window placed in the Longsight Free Christian Church by his mother, and a memorial erected in Ancoats by public subscription. One of Beard's most distinguished pupils was his nephew, Charles Barnes Upton (1831–1920), who entered Manchester College in 1853, graduated B.A. 1857, B.Sc. 1862, was Hibbert Scholar 1859, and from 1875 to 1903 Professor of Philosophy at Manchester College. He was the author of the Hibbert Lectures (1893) on *The Bases of Religious Belief*, and of a valuable discussion of Martineau's philosophy.

Many pupils were sent to Beard by Manchester College to be prepared for its entrance examination. Amongst these was Joseph Roberts, who entered the College in 1834. His father, a native of Madras, kidnapped by a Mohammedan and sold as a slave, was converted to Islam. On visiting London he embraced Christianity and was baptised in the Church of England in 1789, but on a second visit, meeting with the writings of Lindsey and Priestley, he turned Unitarian, and became the founder of the existing Unitarian church in Madras.

Beard's school came to an end in 1849, but his interest in education never ceased.

¹ Herford had been a day-boy under Butler at Shrewsbury from 1831 to 1834.

THE EDUCATIONALIST

In 1831 Beard issued his first confession of faith in education.

“ I once for all declare that I am a friend to unlimited education, the widest possible education to all for all ages and of all ranks. I have no fears of the effects of knowledge. Ignorance is man's bane and ignorance is my dread.”

In 1837 he published a pamphlet entitled *The Abuses of the Manchester Free Grammar School, Considered by A Friend of Popular Education*, which gave rise to much controversy. Its “ general proposition was that grammar schools were schools, in the main, designed for the purpose of education among the poor ”. He argued that fees and gratuities were against the ordinances of the school, that money was wasted by the trustees, and that whilst salaries had been greatly increased, the education given remained defective. Beard induced his friends Mark Philips, Sir Thomas Potter and others to proceed in Chancery against the Trustees, and, after a suit lasting fifteen years, the Trustees gained their point, but many reforms were introduced and the curriculum of the school was greatly extended. Two years later, Beard published a defence of *The Government Plan of Education* in a Letter to Lord Brougham. He was one of the founders of the Manchester Society for promoting National Education in 1837, which developed into the Lancashire Public Schools Association of 1847, and the National Public Schools Association of 1850. It was the second of these Associations which brought Edwin Waugh, the poet, to Manchester to act as assistant secretary. In a powerful address which he drafted for the Lancashire Association, Beard pictured the condition of the country “ with one half of the nation unable to read or write, our gaols and our poorhouses full, and a large proportion of the population vicious, criminal, or destitute, because they are untaught ”. He then examined the reasons for the failure of the attempts of churchmen and dissenters to provide popular education, and pleaded the case for unsectarian education supported by rates or taxes. Mark Philips, M.P., writing 24 October, warmly supported the Plan, but pointed to the difficulties presented by the agricultural districts.

“ Those districts entertain a most cordial hatred towards us in Manchester for our Free Trade notions, and they will suffer their Rick Yards to be fired by incendiaries rather than educate the people if it is to cost them anything, and if the proposition emanates from Manchester, that alone in their eyes is enough to condemn it. Another

generation will probably be wiser, but I fear in the meantime hundreds of thousands of the present generation will go to their graves in ignorance and sin whilst the quarrel as to creeds is waged by those who ought to know better."

Ultimately, a Bill on the lines of the Plan was introduced into Parliament in 1850. Denominational schools were to be recognised, providing there was "a conscience clause".

Alexander Henry, M.P., reporting to Beard the debate on the Bill, said :

"It was distressing to hear the bigotry, the ignorance, and the intolerance which was uttered by persons of influence and consideration, and to reflect how strongly they were entrenched for evil, backed by the appliances of Church and State association, with money and influence at command. But whether the Lancashire Plan be, or be not adopted eventually, it is gratifying to reflect that there are at the present moment great efforts making, in various ways, to diffuse education among the people. The seed so sown will, by and by, produce fruit."

In point of fact, many features of the Education Act of 1870 were foreshadowed twenty years earlier by the Society in which Beard was a moving spirit. But Beard was never satisfied by the meagre minimum provided by that Act. Writing in 1838 on "The Period of Education", he declared that "The whole time for at least the first fourteen years of their being should be divided between play and study—in play, the education of the body, and in study, the education of the mind". He declared his belief that international peace, the security of the state, the material comforts of citizens, and the triumphs of Christianity depended on the furtherance of education. When the *Plan of a University for the Town of Manchester*, by H. Longueville Jones, was published in 1836, Beard welcomed it warmly, and opened the pages of a journal he was then editing to a hearty commendation of it.

His devotion to the cause of popular education led Beard to publish a number of educational manuals designed to bring learning within reach of the masses. His *Latin made Easy* (1848) ran to six editions, and for *Cassell's Popular Educator* he wrote a series of lessons (afterwards reprinted) in English, Latin and Greek, which involved him in heavy correspondence and the gratuitous correction of exercises submitted by hundreds of readers. One of these, a Northumberland miner, acknowledged the help thus received by sending him a hand-made violin. With his son Charles, Beard

edited for Cassells their *Latin Dictionary* (1854). *Self-Culture* (1859) was made up of lectures previously given to large audiences in the Manchester Mechanics' Institution. Henry Morley assisted in its publication, and expressed his pleasure on its appearance in print. Beard contributed seventy articles to Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, 3 vols., 1845, a pioneer work of its kind, the third edition of which, 1863, edited by W. L. Alexander, D.D., was re-published with additions in 1876. He also contributed to *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography* which, under a board of editors, enlisted the services of many notable scholars of the time. *The People's Dictionary of the Bible* (2 vols., 1847), originally issued in parts, made popular a mildly liberal biblical criticism, and was followed in 1851 by the *People's Biographical Dictionary*. *The Dictionary of the Bible*, of which four editions were published, won high praise. Dr. J. Pye Smith, Principal of Homerton College, described it, 19 April, 1847, as

“ a most valuable possession. You are one of those, from whom I feel it very painful to differ. But your fairness and kindness in treating upon subjects on which we, alas ! so differ, and the amiable, serious, devotional, practical spirit breathed through the part I have read, command my hearty approbation. They are worthy of the Author of *Voices of the Church*.”

Henry William Bellows (1814-82), a leading American Unitarian divine, when asking for twenty-five copies of the *Dictionary* to be sent to the States, observed :

“ Your labours are highly appreciated amongst our best-informed Unitarian theologians on this side of the water. I rejoice to hear you are issuing a work on the *Grounds and Objects of Religious Knowledge*.”

The *Biographical Dictionary* included notices of obscure worthies, amongst them Lancashire working men who were students of botany.

In his most widely circulated writings, Beard did for his age what was most wanted, which comparatively few of his contemporaries even attempted. He introduced men of little means, leisure, or opportunities for culture to some of the thinkers of the day, and taught hundreds more the languages by means of which they might read for themselves these and other eminent writers.

In his educational ideals, as in his methods as a schoolmaster, he was a pioneer.

THE MINISTER

During his ministry of forty years in Manchester, Beard encountered most of the vicissitudes of a Unitarian minister's life in the middle of last century, and others peculiar to himself and to the situation in which he was placed. As one of his admirers said : " He had a pronounced individuality of his own, and, it may be, that he did not on every occasion allow for Providence making many varieties of men, and seeking the same end in many ways."

In 1835, the Greengate Society sold their meeting-house, and bought a site for a new chapel in Bridge Street, Strangeways. On 20 October, 1836, the foundation-stone of Strangeways Chapel was laid by Robert Philips of The Park, Prestwich. Division ensued in the congregation and an influential minority, holding the title to the new building, migrated to Bridge Street, called the Rev. William Mountford to the ministry, and opened the chapel, 17 June, 1838. At Greengate, where a rent of £80 a year had now to be paid for the chapel, strenuous efforts were made to strengthen the cause. On 10 August, 1837, a Christian Fellowship Society was founded, which organised the visitation of the district, reported cases of sickness and distress, welcomed strangers to the services, and arranged debates between Unitarians and their orthodox and agnostic opponents. In connection with the Fellowship, the versatile minister lectured, 10 January, 1838, " to females only " on " The Way to make a Happy Home ". In 1841, Mountford's ministry at Bridge Street terminated, and, for a time, the chapel was closed, both congregations claiming the property. Eventually, after arbitration by four leading laymen and one minister, the Strangeways society paid Beard's supporters £300, and then offered the building for sale. Thereupon the Greengate congregation acquired it, by the contraction of a heavy mortgage, and the chapel was reopened, 8 January, 1843, with Beard as minister. His precarious financial position at this period may be learnt from the fact that his stipend this year was £45. A resolution of the congregation in October of the following year pledged the members " to endeavour to increase the income of the minister to £100 per annum ". Later, as their numbers increased, the stipend became £150, and in 1849, £210, though this advance meant that the minister often waited for his quarter's stipend for a month after it fell due. It was in this year that Beard moved to Camp Terrace, Lower Broughton, and gave up his school.

Meanwhile the Beard family steadily increased. The tenth

child was born, 27 May, 1846. Three of the family died in early childhood. One loss keenly felt was that of his daughter Annie, who died, 7 March, 1856, at the age of 10. She was described by a friend as "an engaging, loving child". Amongst the many who sent letters of condolence was George Macdonald, poet and novelist, who, during his residence in Manchester,¹ was a neighbour of the Beards. Writing to Mrs. Beard, he said :

"I honoured and wondered at your child. Surely she would have met the Lord's eye when looking for one of whom he could say, 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' I saw her patience when those who were yet younger than she repelled her little advances, and I felt that she was not merely a child but a woman. Please remember me very warmly to my kind friend your husband. . . ."

Shortly afterwards, Beard wrote to his wife, who was staying with relatives :

"We go on here very quietly. Alas ! the light of the house has been removed—but for her all the better. Meanwhile we will try to comfort and support one another. . . ."

The Beard household, large in itself, was enlarged by the generous hospitality extended to relatives and friends in need. From 1829, Beard's younger brother, James, a boy of 12, took up his residence with him and stayed until manhood. Charles Barnes, Mrs. Beard's father, lived with his son-in-law for some years prior to his death in 1859, and Charles Barnes Upton, Beard's nephew, after his schooldays were over, remained with the family during his business career in Manchester before entering College in 1855. On 15 May, 1845, James Kerr Boyle, a member of his congregation, died, leaving Beard a legacy of £50, and appointing him one of his trustees and the guardian of his three children until they came of age. The boy went to an uncle in Leeds, the two girls were taken into Beard's home, and later apprenticed to dressmakers. Beard's own mother, Ann Beard, whose husband died in 1831, lived with him from 1861 until her death, 7 January, 1864, at the age of 86.

Truly John Relly Beard's preaching and practice were one, and for him charity began at home, though it did not end there.

¹ Macdonald preached at Moor Street Congregational Church, Rusholme, January, 1854, when "it was resolved not to invite him to continue", "his views having been found to be very unsatisfactory". Art. *T. C. Finlayson*, by F. J. Powicke, in *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, July, 1934, p. 328.

From the beginning, his ministry was related to the needs of the young. At Greengate in 1832 he established an Infants' School, with 140 boys and girls. Three years later, the Sunday School numbered 300 scholars. At Bridge Street he had a large school, Fellowship Fund, Library, Bible Class, and other societies. In the Sunday School, in addition to religious instruction, the "three R's" were taught. A scholar who described it in 1905 as it was sixty years earlier, said :

"It was an untold blessing to many a Salford boy and girl. Many of us went to work at eight and ten years of age from six in the morning until eight at night. One meal constituted the day's food, and the Sunday School was often attended without breaking the day's fast. From personal visitation, our condition was known to Dr. Beard, and he appeared to love us all the more for our social misfortunes."

The Bible Class, Beard opened, 10 October, 1861, with an address on the Bible lasting an hour and a half. During the "Cotton Famine" he and his wife organised sewing classes for a hundred girls, provided them with dinner, and taught them to read and write. A soup kitchen was opened in the school from which twice a week more than a hundred families were provided with a meal. Assisted by willing helpers, including his son, James Rait, he arranged entertainments every week, distributed clothing to the needy, and made regular house-to-house visitation. On 31 March, 1863, a number of working men presented Beard with an address of thanks for his labours in their behalf. On Tuesday evenings he held services in the schoolroom under the chapel, attended by people from far and near. One man, who came from Levenshulme, was waylaid by footpads, robbed of his purse and thrown into the gutter. The following Tuesday, his family endeavoured to dissuade him from going to Bridge Street. His reply was : "Nay, I'm going, they can't rob me of what I get from Dr. Beard." There was then no efficient police force, the peace of the town being kept by 4 beadles, 200 special constables, and 53 night-watchmen with rattles !

In September, 1850, Beard's silver jubilee as minister was celebrated, when addresses were presented to him and his wife, a library table and a purse containing a hundred sovereigns given to the minister, and a silver basket to his wife. Mrs. Beard had proved herself a true helpmeet to her husband in everything connected with the chapel, being known in the congregation as his curate, but her special interest was in the Sunday School, and

“bad boys” her particular care. In his reply, Beard acknowledged “the spontaneous and cheerful gift” comprising “large donations from the wealthy and contributions from the poor and the young”. In 1854, Beard’s salary attained its maximum of £250, maintained, however, only for three years.

In 1864, after a serious illness, Beard concluded his long and faithful ministry at Strangeways. It was suitably recognised by congregational gifts of an illuminated address, a purse of £200; and other presents to Mrs. Beard from the Dorcas Society and the scholars and teachers in the Sunday School.

THE PREACHER AND THEOLOGIAN

As a preacher, John Relly Beard was highly esteemed, despite the length to which his sermons often ran. A sermon on “Faith”, preached at Horsham, Whit-Sunday, 1851, “lasted more than an hour and a quarter”. In 1831, he preached at the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Assembly at Bury. On 26 May, 1847, he preached the Annual Sermon for the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at Gravel Pit Church, Hackney, an honour always accounted a recognition of pulpit gifts.

The Sermon, on “The Life of Christ, the Source and Pattern of Christian Influence”, contains a noble plea that we should “allow the minister occasionally to pass into the philanthropist, and forget the theologian in the man”.

Of Beard’s preaching, contemporary accounts differ in opinion. One who frankly expressed disagreement with his doctrine, writing in 1850, said :

“His discourses bear the impress of thought and ideas, particularly striking for their depth and solidity. . . . He delivers his sermon in slow and measured cadences, the tone of his voice being somewhat monotonous. He uses little of gesture, and usually occupies about three-quarters of an hour in delivery.”¹

A Unitarian minister, familiar with Beard’s style, was otherwise impressed by his preaching. “Popular appeals were the breath of his life, and nothing more rejoiced him than that the common people heard him gladly.”² Probably the seeming contradiction is to be resolved by reference to the different audiences he addressed. Speaking in his own chapel to a fairly cultured congregation, Beard cultivated one type of preaching; in addressing artisan

¹ John Evans, *Lancashire Authors and Orators*, pp. 14, 15.

² W. Binns, *Inaugural Meeting of the Beard Memorial Union*, p. 12.

societies in North East Lancashire, he practised another. At Strangeways he frequently gave courses on doctrinal and controversial subjects, intended for publication. As a missionary addressing the societies which followed Joseph Cooke and John Ashworth out of Methodism in 1806, he spoke simply, eloquently, and in the language of the people. On him had fallen the mantle of George Harris, the ardent apostle of Unitarianism. During 1829, for example, Beard preached twice at Padiham to congregations of 300, once in the open air at Downham to 150, twice at Newchurch, and three times at Rawtenstall.

A sketch by a lady of Beard in the Strangeways pulpit in 1848 describes him as "perched aloft", "a little man" who "did not show above the Bible and the cushion" . . .

"Dr. Beard had a round, pleasant face, shaven all over, a round, shiny head, quite bald, with a fringe of grizzly hair brushed the wrong way, that is, upwards, over each ear. He wore a white neck-cloth, wrapped tightly round the neck many times. He would brook no interruption from the Sunday School children, and I remember him often stopping in his sermon to deliver counsel or reproof to those making a noise; I have heard him, too, recommending a mother to take a noisy child out of the place. Of the quality of his sermons, I cannot say much, but I have the impression that they were long, and I distinctly thought at the time that they were dry. I only remember the subject of one discourse; it was upon the resurrection of Christ, and it struck me then, as it has sometimes struck me since, that the evidence which the Doctor held to be incontrovertible was hardly strong enough to prove the case which, as he said, was beyond question."¹

Though conservative in cast of mind, Beard was not unprogressive in thought. Dr. Samuel Davidson, who lost his Chair at Lancashire Independent College for heretical opinions, in acknowledging, 25 April, 1865, a volume of his sermons, said:

"I hope the volume will be well received, as it tends to show that you have moved on, in the course of your ministry, in the direction of freedom and toleration."

His published sermons were read with appreciation outside Unitarian circles. A clergyman, writing 2 October, 1861, said:

"I seize a few minutes to thank you cordially for your two glorious sermons. . . . The one point to be regretted is that all this is out-

¹ C. S. Grundy, *Reminiscences of Strangeways Unitarian Free Church*, 1888, p. 78.

side our church. Yet there are scores of congregations who would listen to it joyfully."

Of Beard's extemporaneous prayers, John Evans said : " They are terse and elegant in style, profound and earnest in feeling, and emphatic and dignified in expression. . . . They generally occupy about a quarter of an hour in delivery." In theology, Beard was a liberal conservative, reflecting the scriptural Unitarianism of his tutors at York, and never accepting the more advanced doctrine, based on another philosophy of religion, taught at Manchester College by their most distinguished successor, James Martineau.

The names of a few of his apologetical and theological publications indicate clearly the position he occupied : *The Historical Evidences of Christianity Unassailable* (1826), *Voices of the Church, In Reply to Dr. D. F. Strauss* (1845), *Critical History of Rationalism in Germany, From the French* (1848), *The Confessional, A View of Romanism* (1859), *Christ, The Interpreter of Scripture* (1865). *A Revised English Bible, The Want of the Church and The Demand of the Age* (1857), comprising a critical history of the Authorised Version and Corrections of numerous mistranslations, was appropriately dedicated to Charles Wellbeloved, a pioneer translator of the Old Testament. Beard's plea for revision fell on deaf ears for the moment, but a movement was stimulated which ultimately led to the revision of a quarter of a century later. In acknowledging a copy of Beard's " intended work on Biblical Revision ", James Heywood, a prominent educationalist and reformer, wrote, 14 May, 1857 :

" a committee was appointed at my breakfast-table with Russell Martineau as secretary to hold a first meeting this afternoon at University Hall. I shall have pleasure in proposing your name to be added to the London Committee. Your book seems to me to be a valuable History of the translations of the Bible, but very short articles in large type are the only papers likely to be read by members of parliament. A local committee in Manchester would, I think, be of great service, and I shall be glad if you will kindly assist in its organisation."

With Beard, however, differences of opinion did not impair friendship, nor induce any wavering in his loyalty to the fundamental principle of toleration. When in 1835 London Unitarians practically excommunicated William Johnson Fox for aberrations, domestic and theological, Beard, with no sympathy for his precepts or

practice, extended to the brilliant heretic an offer to exchange pulpits with him. Writing, 25 July, 1835, Fox said :

“ Your confidence in me is quite warranted. Should I ever follow the example of Milton’s intention, it will be with as little disposition to conceal or blink the transaction. I hold myself to be morally divorced—remarriage is quite another question. I have had precious doings to encounter, both lay and clerical. For the results, I have infinite reason for thankfulness.”

Similarly, in 1856, when the opponents of Martineau sought to exclude him from his chair at Manchester College, London, Beard, whilst actively engaged in combating his opinions, refused to take part in the movement to penalise him for philosophic heterodoxy. Writing to him, 13 January, 1856, Martineau said :

“ Within the College all is harmonious, energetic and promising. And if out of doors we are adequately upheld till we have time to deserve the confidence, not yet awarded us in full, I do not fear the result. But certainly the opposition is both more pertinacious and less scrupulous than I was at all prepared to anticipate.”

On the death, 10 May, 1860, of Theodore Parker, the American social and religious reformer, with whose radical theology Beard had little or nothing in common, William Binns, at the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, held at Preston, 21 June, moved a resolution expressing its “ grateful sense of the services of Theodore Parker in the cause of liberal christianity and social and religious liberty ”. Beard supported it.

“ He tried ”, said Binns, “ to refute some of Theodore Parker’s doctrines. But his always tremulous voice became more tremulous, and the tears would flood his eyes, when he spoke of the great American’s sterling religiousness, his battles for liberty, his excellency as a preacher, his Christian spirit, and his final martyrdom for God.”

Beard was no waymaker or pathfinder in theology, as in other fields of his activities. The ways he trod were well worn by a long line of liberal scholars from John Locke to his old tutor Charles Wellbeloved. He was a compiler, populariser, and, above everything else, a translator. He translated the ideas of open-minded scholars, English and foreign, into the speech of the people, and turned the works of French and German divines, out of the reach of those he sought to influence, into the language they used and understood.

Athanase Coquerel (1795–1868), the celebrated French liberal thinker and preacher, whose essay on Strauss’s *Life of Jesus* Beard

translated, sketched for him his career in a letter, 11 June, 1844, part of which was printed as a preface to the essay.

“ I was born in Paris, in 1795, and never knew my mother. My grandmother was a Hay, of Norton, of the ancient and numerous Scotch family of that name ; and, I believe, that on my mother’s side, I quarter (according to the English phrase) with the Earl of Erroll ; his lordship being the head of the family well known in the history of Scotland. My mother’s vacant place was filled by her sister, one of the most distinguished female authors of the day, Helene Maria Williams, who justly bears the title of English historian of the French Revolution, whose works have been translated into all the modern languages, whose poems were put into French verse by Esmenard and the celebrated Chevalier de Boufflers, and whose English translation of ‘ Paul and Virginia ’ ranks among your classics. This remarkable woman brought me up. I spent my youth with her, in the midst of the first society, both of Paris and London ; and, whatever I am, I owe to her. She was intimate with the first men of the day, under Napoleon ; and I might have entered any profession with brilliant hopes. But I never thought of becoming anything else but a minister of the gospel. . . .”

With Athanase Coquerel the younger (1820–75) Beard also corresponded. To his introduction of himself, the Frenchman replied, 26 July, 1865 :

“ You took needless trouble when you told me who you are. I know what active and eminent services you are every way rendering to the cause of liberal Christianity, and if I can be of any use or help in your great and good work, I am too happy. I give you, as my friend Réville has already told you, full right to translate and publish any sermons of mine you may choose. . . . Most have been translated into Dutch, some in Hungarian, but I do not remember any in English.”

The Coquerels wrote in English, but with other continental scholars Beard corresponded in Latin, French, and German. Ernest Renan, writing from Syria, 10 March, 1861, in reply to a letter written 16 February, explains the delay by referring to his travels, and gives Beard full authority to translate from his writings. Beard’s translations appear to have met with approval. Bouzique, the French scholar whose *History of Christianity* he turned into English, in acknowledging a copy of the translation, said, 21 April, 1871 :

“ You will not remain long in uncertainty as to whether or not it has been stopped on the frontier like your ‘ *Anti-Papal Library* ’. I admire the marvellous energy with which you have accomplished

a work of this extent, and, moreover, a simple glance at several pages has sufficed to convince me that the rapidity of the work has not affected the merit of its execution. I shall not leave the volume until I have finished reading it."

Again, acknowledging the receipt of the "Third volume", he added :

"I should be charmed to learn that it met with the reception that it deserves in your clear translation."

One translation which Beard did not undertake was that of Weber's *Universal History* in 12 volumes, for the right of translation of which he was asked, 29 November, 1866, £25 per volume. For translating Albert Réville's "Theodore Parker" (1861) he paid only a hundred francs. Occasionally, Beard met one of his correspondents in person, and exchanged a journal by post with him. Thus, Haag, to whose *Histoire des dogmes Chrétiennes*, 1862, Beard had contributed, reminded him, 11 October, 1863, that he

"had been introduced to him by William Gaskell in September of last year, and assured him that he always read the *Unitarian Herald*, and hoped he regularly received in return *The Disciple of Jesus Christ*."

From his foreign friends, Beard gleaned information which he expanded into articles contributed to Unitarian journals. Thus, a letter from A. Careson, written from Paris, 4 November, 1863, afforded him an interesting view of contemporary French Protestantism as made up of

"Two divisions of almost equal size. Evidently if M. de Pressensé was not held back by the exigencies of his position, he would march openly on the way of liberty and freedom. In short, orthodoxy in religion in France is supported by all those whom political events have more or less alienated and alarmed, and their influence checks the advancement of ideas."

Professor C. A. Credner, of Giessen University, the eminent New Testament scholar, translated into German a tract by Beard on Methodism and regularly consulted him on points of Unitarian doctrine. In March, 1845, he also asked his opinion about the credentials of a certain "Arthur Jones" claiming to be a Welsh minister. He was 67 years of age, and in support of his petition for a doctorate in theology, had submitted "a life history, a confession of faith, and books—but all written in Welsh!" As to works worthy of translation, Beard took counsel with John James Tayler, the Principal of Manchester College. In his reply, 12 December, Tayler said :

Ewald's criticism of Renan's *Vie de Jésus* I have not seen. Ewald has immense learning and boundless ingenuity, but his self-importance is so exacting, and his contempt for those for whom he has received a jealousy is often so unmeasured and so unscrupulous, that I have for some time ceased to feel any confidence in his criticism, where his own personal feelings are much concerned. I have sometimes observed that he will begin a long note with vehement abuse of the Tübingen school, and end by virtually adopting the very theory of the party. Moreover, his real opinions are very little less free and bold than those of Baur himself. . . . I have no doubt anything of Colani's and Réville's will be well worth reading—and probably of Pressensé's too, though I know him only by reputation. Tischendorf's name will, of course, carry great weight."

Beard's pen was never still. Between 1826 and 1876 he wrote and translated thirty-eight volumes on religion and theology, and a catalogue of his works included no fewer than sixty separate publications.

In the effort to secure for his writings a circulation amongst orthodox liberals, Beard consulted churchmen and others. Charles Joysey, who was to be expelled from the Church of England for heresy in 1871, wrote, 21 September, 1864, from the Vicarage of Dealough, recommending him to send his manuscripts to Thomas Scott of Ramsgate,

who is devoting all his time and means to the diffusion of truth, and will be glad to welcome any one possessing your Catholic sentiments and holding your intelligent faith".

Thomas Scott (1808-78), who had been educated as a Roman Catholic, replied to Beard's enquiry, 23 September, 1864 :

" I find that the only way to induce people to read such works is to condense what you have to say into the smallest possible compass, print them at your own expense, and then give them away by the thousand. I have been a pamphlet writer for ten years, and never sold one yet. I have succeeded in causing my tracts to be well read, and, in many cases, well damned, and I have the satisfaction of knowing that, *for a layman*, I am the best cursed man in all England by the whole bench of Bishops. . . . I believe that if an Archangel wrote a book on God's own truth, unless he also walked through the streets, wings and all, with his own advertising placard on his back, scarce any will be found to purchase it."

Scott's views, born of a rich experience, shed much light on the difficulties, which Beard, a comparatively poor man, had to face in the effort to spread abroad unpopular, heretical opinions.

His own experience, and, not less, his naturally benevolent disposition, led him to welcome, and, as far as in him lay, to aid the publications of liberal and needy scholars.

In 1837, he took part with four ministerial colleagues in Manchester in drawing up and circulating a petition for an annuity for the widow of the Rev. Thomas Walker Horsfield, F.S.A. (1792-1837), the author of two important works on the Topography and Antiquities of Lewes and of the County of Sussex, who, after two years' ministry at Chowbent, had died prematurely at the age of forty-five. It is pleasant to record that in response to this appeal Her Majesty the Queen gave a subscription of £30. In 1849, he drafted a circular asking contributions to a fund for John Wilson, author of *Concessions of Trinitarianism* (1842), "as a token of gratitude for his valuable, arduous, and unrequited labours in behalf of our common cause". John Wilson, a layman converted from Calvinism by James Yates in Glasgow, settled in Manchester in 1834, obtaining employment as a printer on *The Manchester Guardian*. He joined Beard's congregation and taught in the Sunday School. Spending his spare time in Chetham's Library, he taught himself Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and read the scriptures in the original tongues. He enjoyed, also, as he tells us, "the unrestricted use of the valuable library" of his minister, and to "James Yates and John Rely Beard my first and my present pastor", he dedicated his *Concessions*. Amongst his other works was one on the *Pronunciation of English*. He went to Boston, U.S.A., in 1849, and died at Cambridge, Mass., 3 August, 1868. It is noteworthy that Beard secured fifteen signatures (in addition to his own) to this appreciation of Wilson's work, viz. James Martineau, Franklin Howorth, John Colston, Robert Brook Aspland, George Lee, Fletcher Blakely, Henry Montgomery, John Scott Porter, William Henry Drummond, William Johns, William Gaskell, John Gooch Robberds, Robert Wallace, John James Tayler, and William Turner, late of Newcastle. He thus united the leading Unitarians of England and Ireland in a tribute to a poor, obscure, but excellent scholar, who had spent time and means in the defence of Unitarianism on the basis of scriptural study.

When Rowland Williams, Vice-President of Lampeter College, was prosecuted for his contributions to *Essays and Reviews* (1860), Beard proffered to help in raising a fund to defray the legal expenses of the trial, and elicited "cordial thanks" from Williams for his

“generous letter”. Writing, 3 June, 1861, to thank Beard for his kind words in *The Unitarian Herald*, he

“claimed a right of suggesting reconsideration of Church formularies from time to time”, adding, “The Three Heavenly Witnesses are spurious. I claim the right of saying so, and of saying the same of any other text of which it ought to be said, but it is not therefore to be conceded that I ‘impugn’ the first article of the third creed, even though it may be argued that neither the Article nor the Creed would have taken quite so positive and exclusive a form, unless the texts had been supposed genuine.”

Later, he took exception to some strictures on his position expressed by Beard, and wrote, 23 August, 1862 :

“I cannot profess myself pleased with a sentence of yours about ‘infelicity of position’, my own creed being that there is quite as much felicity in accepting (subject to reasonable possibilities of discovery and criticism) the well-weighed positions of Cranmer and Ridley, as there would be in inheriting the traditions of a sect, wavering with the fluctuations of a congregation, a crowd, or a newspaper. And until my Unitarian friends can get over the first chapter of St. John and a few other such passages, so much modesty, at least, would become them, as might take the shape of a doubt whether they are the only people who should speak, and whether wisdom will die with them.”

This is admirably written and not without seeming cogency, but Rowland Williams was unacquainted with Beard’s personal religious history, and had little or no knowledge of Unitarian biblical exegesis. It is not without interest that whilst Matthew Arnold was writing, June, 1867, that “the great thing is to drag the dissenting middle classes into the great public arena of life and discussion, and not let it remain in its isolation, from which all its faults come”, Beard was engaged in cultivating relations with liberals at home and abroad, translating foreign theology into English, and describing in popular journals the ecclesiastical and doctrinal developments in England, France and Germany.

It is some indication of the relatively small size of Manchester at this date, and of the eminence of Beard as a citizen, that his foreign correspondents addressed him as “John R. Beard, D.D., Manchester, England”.

THE UNITARIAN PROPAGANDIST

In the work of his denomination, few men were more active than John Relly Beard. He was secretary of the Lancashire and

Cheshire Unitarian Missionary Society (estab. 1821) for several years. He was one of the founders of the Manchester Domestic Mission Society (1833), the first of the societies in England that owed their inspiration to work among the poor to Joseph Tuckerman of Boston, U.S.A., and published in the same year a translation from the French of *The Visitor to the Poor*, with an introduction by Dr. Tuckerman. He was one of the stoutest supporters of the Manchester Village Missionary Society, and was secretary of it for many years. Excellent work was done by the Society in Derbyshire and elsewhere. In view of the recent revival of the congregation at Flagg, it may be of interest to record that a weekday service was held there, 10 October, 1836, "when the corn was out and the night fine, and a large number of working men in their smock frocks—the patriarchs of the village—assembled for worship". In 1839, the Chapel was built, and opened with a sermon by Brooke Herford. The Village Missionary Society was subsequently merged into the Manchester District Unitarian Association. A letter written by Beard to the *Manchester Examiner and Times* on the divinity of Christ led to a report in Padiham that he had turned Trinitarian. Consequently, the Unitarians there invited him to lecture on "The Divinity and Atonement of Christ". He did so, 14 May, in a discourse lasting "nearly three hours", to the complete satisfaction of his hearers, whose patient endurance may be said to have equalled his own powers of speech. Beard was amongst the founders (1861) of the Manchester Monthly Meeting of Ministers, commonly called "The Twelve Apostles", of which his son Charles, and several of his most intimate friends, were members. He was President of the Manchester Unitarian Sunday School Union in 1862, and of the "Widows' Fund" of Lancashire and Cheshire from 1863 to 1875.

A circular written by Beard, December, 1861, "the first issued paper on the subject", led to the erection of the Memorial Hall in Albert Square. At the outset, there were conflicting views as to the site, name, and objects of the proposed Hall. Beard himself at first favoured the name "Newcome Hall", thus associating it with the ejected clergyman who became the first minister of the Cross Street Chapel congregation. Others preferred to call it "The Unitarian Hall". William Gaskell, reporting to Beard, 1 February, 1862, a meeting of the Committee on the subject, said :

"So many difficulties were started about the Cross Street plan (though I am still of opinion it would be the best), that we were not



“ THE APOSTLES ”

(*Standing*) J. COLSTON, T. E. POYNTING, J. CROPPER, J. GORDON, J. T. WHITEHEAD, J. WRIGHT, C. BEARD.
(*Sitting*) H. GREEN, F. BAKER, DR. J. R. BEARD, W. GASKELL, G. H. WELLS

prepared to recommend anything to the public, and the meeting was postponed to the 28th of this month. . . . Mr. Mackie seemed inclined to go in for the ' Home Missionary Board Hall ' separately, but this, I know, would deprive us of considerable support in the way of friends, and stunt the proposed memorial."

Ultimately a Hall, of which the foundations were laid, 14 June, 1864, was erected, commemorating " The Ejection of 1662 ". It was designed to provide accommodation for various denominational activities, including those of the " Board " or College, of which Beard was then Principal. Opened in 1865, it was the first public hall in Manchester devoted to religious purposes.

Ever ready to take up the cudgels in behalf of Unitarianism, Beard, as " The Truth Teller " replied, 1 April, 1833, in *The Unitarian Chronicle* to Dr. Thomas Arnold's *Principles of Church Reform*, in which, by implication, the name of " Christian " was denied to Unitarians, many of whom were said to be " unbelievers ". Beard appeals to the history of Unitarians, their professions and their practice, and even declares that Arnold is " of the same school as Socinus " in his attitude to Christ.

One of Beard's great schemes, not to be realised in his day, was a union or association of English and American Unitarians with the Unitarians of Hungary and the liberal Protestant thinkers on the Continent. To this end he made proposals to several of his foreign correspondents. One obstacle he met with was that of the name " Unitarian ". Thus, Albert Réville, writing, 17 October, 1861, said :

" Your name—forgive me this—would frighten many people away, who do not disagree with you, except in the matter of the name."

Fifteen years earlier (1846), he had enlisted the co-operation of English, American and Hungarian scholars in a series of Essays, edited by him, under the title, *Unitarianism Exhibited in its Actual Condition*, which constitutes one of the earliest comprehensive accounts of the history of Unitarianism at home and abroad. Beard's dream did not come true till May, 1901, when the first Conference promoted by the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers was held in London.

THE JOURNALIST

Beard was an indefatigable and incorrigible journalist, with an almost incredible belief in the power of the pen. In 1835 he

established *The Christian Teacher and Chronicle*, a monthly periodical, which he edited until 1839. Founded in Manchester, and circulating in the North of England, it was popular in style, included "Chapters for Children", gave much attention to the new movements of temperance and domestic missions, and was planned "to be, not a controversial, but a practical work". Amongst the contributors were John James Tayler, Lant Carpenter, Harriet Martineau, and William Turner. Towards the close of 1837, Beard intimated to his readers that he "had sunk £200 in the undertaking", and appealed for an "increase in sales". This evoked a letter of appreciation from Harriet Martineau :

"Your note gave me great concern. We should all be sorry if the *Christian Teacher* should be given up. For my own part, I will promise you my best support, if I live and am well. I will try to send you some kind of article for every number, but cannot quite *promise* this. I will send you some papers on religion in America, if you should continue to wish it. In five weeks I hope to have done my book, and then I shall work for you again, should you proceed. . . . My mother is pondering the affair of getting new subscribers. . . . You may rely on our doing what we can."

Promises of help being forthcoming, next year the Revs. William Johns and George Buckland were associated with Beard in the conduct of the journal. In 1839, he handed it over to John Hamilton Thom, and two years later it was merged into *The Prospective Review*, a quarterly edited by J. H. Thom, J. J. Tayler, J. Martineau, and C. Wicksteed.

From 1844 to 1847, Beard was editor of *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, published by Chapman and Hall, which circulated on the Continent as well as in England. An octavo of some 250 pages, it contained unsigned articles on foreign literature, letters from foreign correspondents, and lists of the principal new publications on the Continent. John Van Horn, D.D., formerly Fellow and Reader in Divinity and later Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Dorpat, wrote to Beard to congratulate him on his appointment, adding :

"I doubt not that this change will greatly increase its circulation on the Continent, where your talents, learning, and literary merits are held in high esteem."

To *The Monthly Repository*, *The Unitarian Chronicle*, *The Christian Reformer*, *The Inquirer*, *The Westminster Review*, *The Journal of Sacred Literature*, *The British Review*, and *The Christian Spec-*

tator, Beard was a frequent contributor. To *The Biographical Magazine* he sent a number of sketches. J. Passmore Edwards, writing 20 November, 1851, said :

“ Please write and send me at your earliest convenience as elaborate a sketch as you possibly can of Louis Napoleon—about 6 or 8 pages—for *The Biographical Magazine*. Terms £8.8.0. per sheet. I am well acquainted with your writings, and frequently have had the pleasure to hear you preach, and consequently I could place great confidence in what you might send me, and I should be sorry to go on without your co-operation.”

It was at Beard's suggestion that *The Unitarian Herald* (1861–89) was first published. He was one of the first editors, and remained on the editorial board until 1865. In its pages, he sketched the biography and theology of many foreign theologians. It was the first Unitarian weekly published at a penny, and circulated widely amongst the growing congregations in the industrial centres of Lancashire and Yorkshire. It was finally incorporated in *The Christian Life*, established 1876, with whose character and policy it was almost identical.

THE POLITICIAN AND PUBLICIST

Within two years of his settlement in Manchester, Beard was elected, 20 January, 1827, a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which John Dalton was then President. He was a member of the Anti-Corn Law League, and was described in 1850 as “ an anti-war, anti-slavery, and anti-capital punishment man to the backbone ”. Though, as already stated, Beard was never dazzled by the utopian visions of Robert Owen, based upon the establishment of a new economic order of society ; yet by his experience and convictions as an educationalist and reformer, he became a natural leader of the serious-minded artisans who were bent on improving their conditions of life by making free use of the libraries, newspapers, mechanics' institutes, temperance societies and Sunday Schools, which the growing towns now provided, and who were almost equally interested in the spread of liberty and freedom at home and abroad. He was frequently consulted by members of parliament and others on political questions. Richard Potter, M.P. for Wigan, wrote, 19 March, 1835 :

“ You have no doubt read the plan of Sir Robert Peel relative to Dissenters' marriages, and I shall be happy to hear what you think of it. For my part, I don't like it. There is the old grievance

remaining of contributing to the Church, also Registration is untouched, and it was proved before the Parochial Committee that Registers were badly kept. There is also a broad distinction betwixt the Dissenters and Churchmen. As soon as the Bill is printed I will send you a copy, but I think that many parts of it ought to be petitioned against."

A stout dissenter and believer in disestablishment, Beard supported every movement for the recognition of the rights of dissenters, and was not less stalwart in his advocacy of the political enfranchisement of the masses of his countrymen.

When the Society of the Friends of Italy was organised in 1851, Beard joined it, and on 25 June, 1852, James Stansfield sent him a tract, saying :

" I am requested to ask your kind assistance in writing such a notice in any manner which may be agreeable and convenient to yourself, which, if sent to us, we may get published."

Mazzini, the intimate friend of Stansfield, in reply to an invitation from Beard to attend the first meeting of the North of England Anti-Slavery Association, wrote, 25 March, 1854 :

" How earnestly I sympathise with the noble aim you are going to pursue. No man ought to subscribe on his flag ' LIBERTY ', who is not prepared to shake hands cordially with those, whoever they are, who will attach their names to the composition of your association."

He then made a declaration of his belief in " the Unity of God and the Unity of Mankind ", concluding :

" Blessed be your efforts if they start from this high ground of common faith, if you remember that only free men can achieve the work of Freedom, and that Europe's appeal for the abolition of slavery in other lands will not weigh all powerful before God and man while Europe herself shall be desecrated by arbitrary, tyrannical power, by Czars, Emperors, and Popes."

In 1859, at the request of the Manchester Library Committee, Beard revised the proofs of the Catalogue of the Free Library, established 1852, then housed in Campfield. For him such labour was no mere literary exercise, but part of his contribution to the programme of education and enlightenment.

THE THEOLOGICAL TUTOR

As founder and first Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board (now Unitarian College), John Relly Beard made his greatest

contribution to the Unitarian movement. As early as 1830, writing on Home Missions in *The Watchman*, a magazine edited by W. J. Fox, Beard said :

“ We wish that Unitarians were more fully and zealously engaged in this work than they are. In reference to this subject, the taste of Unitarians, we fear, has degenerated into fastidiousness. If the poor are to receive the gospel at their hands, there must be a change. Unitarianism will not spread extensively among the people till the people legislate for themselves, and have preachers from among their own ranks.”

Here, a quarter of a century before the foundation of the Home Missionary Board, we may recognise one of the provisions of its charter. The Rev. William Forster, who seconded the resolution moved by the Rev. George Harris, constituting the Institution, observed, with a singular prescience :

“ I have no doubt but the future historian of the Unitarian Church will refer to the establishment of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board as the most important event that has happened for a long period in connection with the community.”

The founders of the Board were disinclined to spend money on the purchase or erection of a collegiate building. For a time rooms were not even hired, and classes were held at the residences of the tutors in Lower Broughton and Plymouth Grove. In August, 1855, three rooms at 102 Cross Street were taken, and in 1857 the Board found a home, if the euphemism may pass, in four rooms at the top of an old warehouse in No. 8 Marsden Square. They were really quite unsuitable for the purposes of a theological college, and a severe illness of the Principal in 1860 seems not to have been unconnected with their atmosphere. William Gaskell may be pardoned a remark he made about this time that “ he liked the Board very much, but the lodgings he did not like at all ”. Howbeit, in Marsden Square the Board remained until 1865, when it migrated to the Memorial Hall in Albert Square, where it remained for forty years.¹

The curriculum adopted at the outset certainly did not err on the side of excessive specialisation. One subject, “ The History of the World, with special reference to the History of Civilisation ”, must have presented an admirable example of compression and restraint

¹ For the history of the College, 1854–1914, see the writer’s *The Unitarian Home Missionary College*, 1915.

to students for the ministry. William Binns, one of the first group of students and a man of conspicuous ability, characterised Beard's lectures as "learned, various, free, stimulating, and slightly prone to deflections from the regular orbit. . . . He constantly pointed to original sources of information, and encouraged independent thinking". Adam Rushton, who entered in 1856, descends to particulars. From him we learn that the Principal lectured on John Milton with much acceptance, though his course on "The Origins of Semitism", largely inspired by German thinkers, was too elaborate for his hearers, whilst the lectures on "The Greek Article" proved too minute for most. His "Biblical Exegesis" was not so much enjoyed as it deserved to be, and, though his discussion of "The Sinlessness of Christ" proved highly interesting, it failed to carry conviction to our informant. Beard himself, in a letter to his son Charles, 10 October, 1874, described his "Lecturing materials" as "very various", adding:

"This you will find, should you look over my MSS. Do not, however, suppose that they are original. Their excellence lies in their being translations of works written by some of the great scholars of Germany and France."

This is frank, but, amongst those ignorant of every language but their own, Beard's reputation as a teacher, in part at least, was probably due to what Henry Sidgwick afterwards remarked, namely, "that a knowledge of German enabled a college tutor to lecture with great originality".

With William Gaskell, his colleague on the staff for twenty years and his friend for half a century, his relations were always intimate. In one letter, Gaskell addresses Beard as "My friend, philosopher and guide", and in another, written late at night, subscribes himself as "Yours in my dreams, W. Goosequill". A characteristic note, 8 January, 1864, beginning and ending in Greek, runs:

"Let not thy countenance be turned away from me, but credit thy slave when he says that it was absolutely out of his power to obey thy behest, as he is ever delighted to do, one moment sooner. He humbly craves at thy hands the small modicum of time, in which to disport himself at the approaching Saturnalia. . . . Submissively casting himself at thy feet, he remains

Thy most humble slave,

W. GAMMON."

Two volumes of a French topographical work on the Holy Land bears an inscription which illustrates their friendship and com-

memorates the sorrow which befell Beard in the loss of his little daughter. Translated, it runs: "John R. Beard, bereft and in deepest sorrow, has given to the Reverend William Gaskell, as a token of gratitude, and of fraternal regard and affection, 1 April, 1856."

With Mrs. Gaskell, the accomplished wife of his colleague, Beard was on excellent terms. When he was contemplating a holiday in Palestine, which was never undertaken, Mrs. Gaskell wrote:

"May I take you into my confidence about a plan which I should exceedingly like for my husband. . . . I do so want him to accompany you to Palestine. . . . He received so much benefit from his continental journey nine or ten years ago, that I imagine this Eastern journey would be the very thing to renovate health and spirits. . . . If he puts it off, he will never have an opportunity of so consonant a companion. The College¹ and the congregation are the great difficulties, but surely some plan may be devised by which these may be set aside. . . ."

Another "plot" to lure her husband from his multifarious labours, in which Beard heartily joined, was concocted in 1863. Writing in September of that year, Mrs. Gaskell said:

"I want you to enter into a conspiracy against Mr. Gaskell; and, like all conspirators, you must be so kind as to do your work quietly and silently. The case is this. For years past, Mr. and Mrs. Story (the American sculptor and his wife), who live at Rome, have been urging Mr. Gaskell to pay them a visit. . . . Now comes the question: 'Could not Mr. Gaskell go to them in the winter? Could he not start directly after the January examinations? Is there no teacher in Manchester who could do something to keeping up the students to their work? You know how Mr. Gaskell dislikes any 'fuss', or asking any favour. . . . Pray help me.'"

Other letters followed, and on 24 September, she wrote:

"With your help I feel confident that I shall win, and, if I do, I shall not forget that I more than half owe my victory to you. . . ."

On 14 December, the "victory" was still in the balance:

"I have just received a letter from Mrs. Story saying that she has secured Mr. Gaskell sleeping room in the neighbourhood; that he must entirely live with them. And so I set to work with renewed vigour, seeing moreover the extreme fatigue of his work telling on

¹ Manchester College, where W. Gaskell was professor 1846-53, when the College removed to London.

my husband ; for probably you know he has had to take Mr. Scott's¹ work at Owens College. May I therefore ask you to fix a time and place in town when I can see you, and ask your advice how to proceed. . . ."

The two plotters met, and schemes were devised to accomplish the end in view, but, as late as 30 December, the matter was not settled, when Mrs. Gaskell wrote :

" Could you write me a note that I might show Mr. Gaskell which would assure him that they consider it as settled that he may take the 6 weeks holiday after (say) the 21st of January ? I am already armed with a note from Mr. Greenwood ' dismissing ' him from Owens College for that time ; but until I have more distinct proof to show him that all is arranged with the Chapel and U.H.M.B., I dare not open my para—where do the double consonants come ?—parallels.

Yours ever,
A FAITHFUL PLOTTER."

Eventually all was satisfactorily arranged. William Gaskell went to Rome in January, and returned in March, " without ", as Charles Beard said, " having converted the Pope ".

In November, 1874, Beard found himself deprived of the use of his voice, though still exercising freely his pen, and resigned the Principalship of the Board. By this time, considerable improvements in its curriculum had been made, and the connection with Owens College (now Manchester University) had begun. In all, ninety-four students had passed under his care. The Committee placed on record their profound sense of indebtedness to their first principal, and appointed him Honorary Principal with an honorarium of £100 a year. His old students presented him with an album containing their portraits, and an address.

" You ever set before us a high ideal of what a Christian teacher should be, and by your example showed us how nobly this ideal might be sought, and not unworthily realised. Indefatigable in toil, reverent and yet free, and in your honourable old age, still young in spirit, you were, and are an inspiration to us."

One of his students, John Cuckson, who afterwards had a distinguished career in America, expressed his " admiration of the self-denial and enthusiasm which characterised his labour as a Tutor ".

" Once or twice I fell under his displeasure, but oftener than I

¹ Alexander John Scott (1805-66), First Principal of Owens College.

can tell, his counsel and genial help kept me to my work, and strengthened my best resolves. He was firm when firmness was required, but there were warm and sympathetic elements in his nature, by which he won the esteem and affection of his pupils."

Beard's scholarship did not go unrecognised. On 26 April, 1841, at the instance of Dr. Credner, Dean of the Faculty of Theology, the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred upon him by the University of Giessen. Next year, 1 October, 1842, he was elected a Member of the Royal Historico-Theological Society of Leipsic, and described in the diploma as "*apud Presbyterianos Mancunienses minister*". His friends and admirers in Manchester presented his portrait by Robert Crozier, together with that of his friend William Gaskell, by William Percy, to the Memorial Hall, 15 January, 1872.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

After a short rest, following his retirement from the ministry at Strangeways, Beard removed in 1865 to "The Meadows", near Altrincham, accepting a call to the old chapel in Cross Lane, Cheshire (now Sale), where he served till February, 1873, when he finally withdrew from the ministry. He shared "The Meadows" with his second son, John Russell (b. 14 January, 1829), whose wife had recently died, 12 October, 1863. It was a house with a large garden and two or three fields, where it was hoped that fresh air would enable him to enjoy some years of vigorous old age. During his eight years at Sale, he built up the congregation, and prepared the way for the settlement of an old pupil, James McConnachie, and the opening of the beautiful new church in 1876.

Beard's retirement from the ministry in 1873 and from academic pursuits in the following year marked the end of his strenuous labours. For twenty-one years, 1828-49, he had united the offices of schoolmaster and minister, been active in various educational and political societies, published many popular educational manuals and theological works, engaged in vigorous Unitarian propaganda, and, from 1835, been regularly employed as editor and journalist. For twenty years more, 1854-74, he was minister and theological tutor, author and translator, lecturer and propagandist, and, for four years, 1861-5, edited a Unitarian weekly. From first to last, he corresponded with friends at home and scholars abroad, and was a member of almost countless committees of ecclesiastical, educational, political and philanthropic institutions. No Uni-

tarian minister in the nineteenth century had played so many parts with such zeal, ability and success.

On 28 June, 1876, John Relly and Mary Beard celebrated their Golden Wedding, when a Family Album with an Address and the portraits of their family and kinsfolk, thirty-eight in all, was presented to them. In his last letter to James Martineau, Beard said :

“ Of all the blessings of my life—and they are not few—my wife is the greatest.”

On 22 November, 1876, Beard passed to his rest. His death and funeral were described in a letter by his son, Charles, a week later :

“ He passed away quite without pain or struggle. Nothing could be quieter. . . . Happily we had a beautiful day for the funeral. The first service was in the new chapel at Sale—his last work—and then the procession went to Brooklands Cemetery, about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile away. Gaskell conducted the service in a way that was infinitely simple, touching and affectionate, and there was a great gathering of friends, ministerial and lay. Altogether there has been much to be thankful for, and much that is consolatory.”

Beard's death called forth many tributes of affection and esteem from friends and fellow-workers in many fields. Not the least noteworthy was one, addressed to Mrs. Beard, by James Martineau :

“ I can scarcely count the years since I had the privilege of spending an hour or two, now and then, in your early home, and marking with admiration the mental resource and indefatigable energy and high courage with which my old fellow student applied himself to no easy problem of life. It soon became evident that he would conquer all its difficulties, and make good a firm and honourable footing for doing his appointed work in the world. Often have I looked with wonder at the way in which, amid schoolkeeping and a host of public activities, he continually enlarged his learning and turned it rapidly to account by unremitting literary enterprise. And latterly he rose with equal ease to the forming of men instead of books.

Our religious body is but a small world for the action of such a spirit. But his volumes are on our shelves, his pupils are in our pulpits, his son is in the front rank of our leaders; so that every way he is identified for an indefinite time with whatever future may be reserved for us among English Churches. A fuller or completer life can hardly be desired. He leaves behind but a broken and scanty remnant of his College associates, but so long as one of them survives, a witness will not be wanting to tell with what vigour, what versatility, what faithfulness to conviction John Relly Beard started with him on the race of life, and held on till he reached his goal. . . .”

The Annual Report of Manchester College, 1877, placed on record its loss of one "whose various religious, literary and social labours are too well known to need commemoration", and acknowledged "a very valuable gift of books" from his library. The Unitarian Home Missionary Board recognised in him "the founder of the institution and its most indefatigable worker, who had rendered to it services of inestimable value", adding that "the library had been enriched by works left to it by his directions".

The life of John Relly Beard, unhappily marred by errors, has been given a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Five of his children survived him. Mrs. Beard continued to live at Sale with Miss Laing as her companion. Miss Laing died 20 September, 1881, and Mrs. Beard, 13 March, 1887, aged eighty-four.

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CHARLES BEARD, B.A., LL.D.

(27 July, 1827—9 April, 1888)

EARLY LIFE, EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE

CHARLES BEARD, the eldest son of John Relly Beard, was born at "Stony Knolls", Great Cheetham Street, Manchester, 27 July, 1827. He began his education as a pupil at his father's school, where, at the age of 15, he distinguished himself by taking first place in merit of the fifty-seven scholars in attendance. Next year, faced with the choice of preparing for the legal profession or the ministry, he chose the ministry, and entered Manchester College, then housed in Grosvenor Square, Manchester. Students were not in residence, as originally in Manchester, 1786-1803, and in York, 1803-42. They lived in approved lodgings, but Charles Beard, and others similarly circumstanced, lived at home. The long walks to and from lectures which this involved, doubtless prepared for the strenuous pedestrian feats performed in later life. During his course of study, he was attached to his father's Sunday School, in which he first exercised his talents as a teacher, and, in common with other students, supplied the pulpits of neighbouring churches, in particular, the preaching stations of the Manchester Village Missionary Society.

The College was affiliated to London University, for whose examinations students were prepared. Beard had entered as a lay student, but, after the first year, completed the divinity course of five years. Amongst the tutors were Francis William Newman, John Kenrick, James Martineau, Robert Wallace, John Gooch Robberds, and John James Tayler. Another, less known in Unitarian circles, was Robert Finlay, whose teaching of mathematics, being somewhat advanced, earned for him the sobriquet of "the Mathematical Dungeon". Beard's reactions to his studies are reflected in a letter, 31 January, 1845, to Mrs. McKee, wife of the former assistant in his father's school:

"Your humble servant is just as he was, only decidedly more sober, works harder, and has taken an immense liking to metaphysics, and (don't tell Mr. McKee) hates mathematics worse than ever."



CHARLES BEARD

In 1846, Eddowes Bowman succeeded Newman as classical professor, George Vance Smith followed Wallace as professor of theology, and William Gaskell became professor of English literature. Beard's fellow students included Henry William Crosskey and Thomas Elford Poynting. In his last year there were ten divinity students and nine lay students.

At the Public Examinations, 1845, Beard delivered an "Oration" on "The circumstances that tended to give a peculiar character to Greek Poetry", and was awarded prizes in Ancient History and Classics. Next year, his "Oration" was "The Revival of Literature in the 15th and 16th Centuries", and he carried off the prizes in Modern History and Mental Philosophy. Other prizes for which he had qualified he did not receive as he had taken them before. In 1847, he received the prize for Mental and Moral Philosophy, and graduated B.A., with honours in classics, at London University. His "Oration" was "The Connection between the Prevalence of Christianity and the Progress of Science".

During his last Session, he was Secretary, or Editor, of "The Repository", known familiarly as "Poz", the manuscript magazine, circulating amongst the students and dating from 1815, when the College was at York. To this magazine the men contributed, in serious or in humorous vein, articles on thought and life, which, upon occasion, were read to a larger audience of interested friends.¹

At the end of his collegiate course, Beard proceeded to Berlin University for a further period of study—unfortunately without the assistance of a Hibbert Scholarship, the first Hibbert Scholar being appointed seven years later.

Travelling for poor students, even in England at this date, was not without its drawbacks. Writing from Ostend, 16 October, 1848, Beard described his journey to Dover *en route* to Germany:

"I took a third-class ticket (from London Bridge station), and guess how surprised I was to find that we were expected to travel 4½ hours, which turned out to be 5 hours, in carriages, with seats indeed, but uncovered. However, I made the best of it, and a most comfortless journey I had. What with the cold, and a shower now and then, and sparks from the engine getting into my eyes—I was thoroughly glad to get to Dover."

At Berlin, he lodged in Frederichstrasse, sharing rooms with a son of Robert Carruthers, the editor of an Inverness daily. Amongst his teachers was Neander, the great historian, with whom Beard

¹ See p. 120.

was on intimate terms and a welcome visitor at his home, where a sister kept house for him. A close friend during this period, and for long afterwards, was Leyson Lewis (1826-96), who in 1856 became Martineau's son-in-law. Beard named his only son (b. 12 April, 1858) after him, and dedicated to him his Hibbert Lectures (1883) "in grateful acknowledgment of thirty-five years unbroken friendship". The year in Germany coincided with that spent there by James Martineau, whilst enjoying leave of absence from ministerial and academic duties during the building of Hope Street Church, Liverpool. Martineau spent the winter semester in Berlin, and left a description of the political turmoil in the revolutionary Germany of 1848. He noted also the presence in the Prussian capital, together with his son, Russell, Leyson Lewis and a few others, of

"some former pupils, Mr. Charles Beard and Mr. Richard Holt Hutton, who constituted a bright little inner circle, whose flow of kindly humour kept the outward clouds away, or touched them with some happy glow".¹

On 17 February, 1850, Charles Beard entered upon the ministry at Hyde Chapel, Gee Cross, as assistant to the Rev. James Brooks (1776-1854), whose Ministry there began as early as 1806. John Kenrick, in a letter to John Relly Beard, 6 March, 1850, congratulated him

"on Charles having made so auspicious a beginning in the exercise of his profession. I have always anticipated usefulness and eminence in it for him, and he seems in a position favourable both to his comfort and his improvement."

Kenrick's insight into the future of his old pupil was matched by his knowledge of the ministerial prospects at Gee Cross. During the long ministry of Brooks, a man with a taste for historical research, the congregation had greatly increased in numbers and wealth; a new school had been opened, and the present beautiful church erected.

On 4 June, 1850, Charles Beard was married by his father at Bridge Street Chapel, Manchester, to Mary Ellen (b. 15 April, 1823), daughter of Michael and Mary Shipman. The Shipmans had settled in Manchester in 1843, and joined the Bridge Street congregation in the year Beard entered Manchester College, and before he left it for Germany, his choice of a future partner had

¹ Drummond and Upton, *Life and Letters of J. Martineau*, I, 186.

been made. It was a most happy one. The two had learnt to collaborate in useful service even before marriage, for when John Relly Beard removed to Camp Terrace in 1849, they spent several days together in arranging the books on the shelves of his library. Mrs. Beard shared in all her husband's interests, and her sunny disposition, sound common sense, and wise judgment proved invaluable in all that related to her husband. No line of his was published without being submitted to her, whilst in his pastoral visitation, especially to the poor, she was frequently his companion. Their constant presence together provided many of his hearers, as one of them confessed, with an "ideal of the sanctity and beauty of happy married life". The young couple took up their residence in a small cottage in the village of Gee Cross, but, on the death of James Brooks, 4 April, 1854, when Beard became sole minister of the chapel, they removed into the Parsonage, which, in 1862, was enlarged to meet the needs of the family.

THE PREACHER AND THEOLOGIAN

The sermon preached by Charles Beard at the commencement of his ministry (17 February, 1850), *The Apostleship of a Christian Church*, was "printed at the request and expense of the congregation, and for their use alone". In it, the young minister (he was not yet 23) set forth his conception of the work of the church. It is not without significance, in view of his later opinions, that he declared it to have "been the misfortune of that form of Christianity, which we profess, that it had been compelled to assume an attitude of self-defence", so that

"the statement of its faith had consisted too exclusively of negations. But the future opens out for it a brighter purpose. . . . We shall be able to dwell more on those points in which we agree with our brethren, than on those in which we differ."

Next year, Easter Monday, 1851, he preached at the Annual Meeting of the Cheshire Association, at Knutsford.

Even in these early days, Beard impressed his hearers favourably with a sense of his pulpit gifts. John Ashton Nicholls, writing to John Relly Beard, his old schoolmaster, 17 May, 1852, said :

"I met Charles and his wife at Mr. Pender's dinner party on Saturday. Mrs. Pender is much pleased with Charles. Mr. Martineau is her idol, and when she told me that, after Mr. Martineau, Mr. Charles pleased her more than any minister she ever heard, I thought it a high compliment from one of her excellent judgment. . . . She is what I call a desperate Unitarian."

On 5 May, 1856, after a preliminary meeting in the house of the Rev. John Gordon, at Dukinfield, the East Cheshire Missionary Association was formed (from March, 1863, the East Cheshire Christian Union), with Gordon and Beard as secretaries. To the work of this Association at Stalybridge, Flowery Field, Mottram and elsewhere further afield, Beard rendered conspicuous service, giving his Sunday evenings regularly to these struggling congregations. Travelling in Cheshire in the middle of last century was difficult—a canal boat drawn by horses, omnibuses no nearer than Stockport or Manchester, an occasional cab to be hired—and it was necessary to make most expeditions on foot. At Flowery Field alone, Charles Beard preached 175 times in an Infants' School from 1850 to the end of his ministry at Gee Cross in 1866. The 176th sermon was preached by him, 19 December, 1878, at the opening of the fine new church erected by Thomas Ashton.

On 22 July, 1854, at the age of 27, Beard preached before the Annual Meeting of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire. The sermon, *The Unitarian Position*, was published at the request of 300 hearers, who, within an hour or two of its delivery, gave in their names as subscribers of copies. As a statement of the Unitarian position, based, as it is, on what is fundamental in Unitarianism—its religious philosophy—it is still, within the limits imposed by its date, form and character, superior to any other. Ten Sermons preached at Hyde Chapel, during the winter of 1858–9, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, were published by request of the congregation. In accordance with the prevailing Unitarian thought of the period, Jesus is regarded as miraculously divine, but acquaintance with more advanced doctrine is also patent. In one sermon, for example, he divided Protestant theologians into two classes; “first, those who look upon the Bible as itself a revelation; and next, the much smaller class (to which he himself belonged), who regard it as a record of revelation”.

On 22 May, 1861, at Effra Road Church, Brixton, he preached the Annual Sermon of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. In it he pleaded for “a scientific theology, a natural life, and an open church.” A contemporary report observed:

“The close attention of the large congregation for more than an hour attested the skill of the preacher in rousing and sustaining, by his thoughtful wisdom and his brilliant eloquence, the interest of the hearers.”

Beard also spoke at the meeting following the service, at which Sir John Bowring was in the Chair. Of the sermon, *Duties and Hopes*, Robert Brook Aspland, a competent critic not wholly in sympathy with the opinions of the preacher, wrote, 22 May, to John Relly Beard :

“ How largely your gifted and noble-minded son added to the successes of the day, none but those who were present can fully realise. The sermon and the speech were harmonious, yet different, and each reflected light on the other.”

Beard's repute as a preacher led to his being invited in 1862 to the pulpit of Hope Street Church, Liverpool, but, though he found it difficult to teach the representatives of that congregation “ what NO meant ”, he remained at Gee Cross, to the delight of his friends there, who presented him with an Address, recording their appreciation of his services, and their gratification at his decision.

In October, 1866, he accepted a call to succeed John Hamilton Thom at Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool—a city with whose life he was henceforth to be closely identified. The chapel dated from 1811, but the congregation went back to the beginnings of dissent in Liverpool. He took up his residence at 13 South Hill Road, Toxteth Park, and on 8 March, 1867, entered on his second and last ministry.

On 10 November, 1867, he was moved to preach what he himself described as

“ a very strong sermon against the commercial morality of Liverpool, which is frightful, and it is to be printed at the request of the congregation ”.

In *Commercial Morality* in 1867, he denounced “ speculation ”, “ luxury ”, and the “ paralysis of moral sentiment in business ”. It was a bold utterance for a man who had been only eight months in the town, and he confessed :

“ It was not a delightful task, either to write or preach. As there was nothing dogmatic or sectarian in it, we got the chief Church bookseller of Liverpool to put his name upon it. And the whole edition, 500, was sold between Wednesday and Saturday. We are now busy getting a second edition.”

In 1869, it occurred to Beard to renew his acquaintance with the Liverpool Controversy of thirty years earlier, “ the fight which Mr. Martineau and two others made against thirteen clergymen ”, and he

“ was much struck with this, that if, by ill hap, the Liverpool Unitarians should have to fight the same battle over again, though it would never be fought by them with the same gallantry and depth as it was then, it would have to be conducted on an entirely different ground. Not that they had changed their ground, but that their opponents had changed theirs. . . . The outworks had been given up, but the citadel remained still to be the object of contention. Exclusive and infallible inspiration of Holy Scripture had been given up. The doctrine of vicarious atonement was given up, and the time was now coming when all these outworks having been abandoned, they would have to fight the old battle once more in regard to the relation of Christ to God on the one hand, and to humanity on the other. The issue would be between a Christ who was Almighty God incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth, and a Christ, in whom was manifested the finest and most consummate union of divine and human, which might be, and was, partially manifested in every clear mind and honest heart and conscience.”

What may be called the Liverpool Controversy of 1934, whilst differing every way from that of nearly a century earlier, has turned on the precise point Beard so clearly envisaged in 1869.

On the occasion of the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Liverpool, he preached, 10 September, 1870, and published a sermon on *The Place of Theology among the Sciences*.

“ You will think ”, he tells a friend, “ I am always publishing Sermons, and, in good truth, I am ashamed of myself. But I could not help this one. It is my protest against the Non-Theism—Atheism, I suppose, we must not call it—which Huxley, Tyndall and Co. have been preaching in Liverpool, the people meanwhile applauding they know not what. A number of more or less distinguished persons, who heard it, begged for its publication, and here you have it.”

Charles Beard met the scientists of the school named on their own ground, recognising that

“ the single and authoritative Word of God, in regard to cosmical development and change, is that which is now being read off by skilful and patient enquirers, from the book of nature, where God has himself graven as with an iron pen, the record of slow evolution and sudden cataclysm ”.

Then, after the manner of Martineau, his master in this field, he proceeded to demonstrate the limitations of science in the attempts to displace the theistic interpretation of the universe.

For Herbert Spencer's philosophy, which sought to interpret the

researches of the scientists, Beard had little respect. In 1879, the year when the *Data of Ethics* was published, he expressed his opinion upon it. "The whole book is expressed in the opening illustration, 'A mother giving her baby suck.' The *Data of Ethics* is all there. It is a matter of animal instincts. There is body, there is no soul." He looked upon Spencer as "a writer of narrow views", "whose mind works in grooves and cells of thought, which he has formed for himself, and from which, by his first principles, he cannot escape". He "did not contemplate any long continuance for his philosophy".

To not a few Unitarians in London, it seemed fitting and proper that Beard should no longer be confined within the narrow precincts of a provincial town, but should deliver his message to a metropolitan congregation. Twice, efforts were made to induce him to settle in London. One reason for declining these overtures was his sense of the influence, still increasing, which he exercised in Liverpool. On 18 December, 1871, after referring to the first invitation, "two and a half years ago", he called the attention of his congregation to the need for larger accommodation :

"The Chapel is quite full. It has been practically full for some considerable time ; but now the sittings in the least favourable place for seeing and hearing are all let. We have strangers waiting for the opportunity of becoming members. If a young couple among ourselves should wish to assume an independent position, we have neither pew nor sittings to give them. Even if the Congregation were to cease growing by addition from the outside, we have not the means of providing for the natural increase of our own numbers."

He did not advise removal to another site, but a new chapel on the same site.

As we have seen, Charles Beard preached, upon occasion, at some length. A sermon at the opening of the Unitarian Church, Stroud, 15 May, 1876, ran to sixty-five minutes, whereupon a hearer remarked that "it was as broad as it was long", a neat, double-edged mot, which the preacher relished. The text, remarkably apposite to sermon and occasion, was "'Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also'" (Acts xvii. 6). In his own pulpit, he frequently preached without a text, and occasionally elsewhere when he took one, made little or no use of it.

In 1875, he published *The Soul's Way to God and Other Sermons* (twenty-four in all), in the judgment of many, the noblest product of his pen. In his own words :

“The history thereof is that some of my people were pleased with the first five in January, which give the title to the book, and asked for their publication. I declined, on the ground that they would make neither a pamphlet nor a book, and would be a mere unconsidered trifle. The result was that four or five sent me a £100 note, with a request for a volume.”

The origin of one sermon in the collection was afterwards related by James Edwin Odgers. The two men were looking at Luke Fildes' picture, “Casual Paupers”, when Odgers remarked: “That makes me want to cry,” to which Beard replied: “It makes me want to preach.” And he did preach, the title of the picture becoming that of the sermon.

Always ready to examine and determine for himself wherein lay the strength of orthodox doctrine, Beard preached on “Election” at the Annual meeting of the North and East Lancashire Mission, held at Bolton, 6 March, 1884. “The strength of Calvinistic conviction” was illustrated from history, and its weakness, when held “as a formal theory”, exposed in its production of “arrogance and hypocrisy”. Of the several elements in the scheme of Calvin, he declared: “I fail to see what they have to do with me and my life. They do not answer to my experience, they do not solve my difficulties, or remedy my life; they do not fulfil my expectations.” Then, turning to another view of “Election”, more clearly related to the obligations he acknowledged, he concluded:

“If we are elect, if we are chosen by God, to do His will, and work together with His Providence, if our cup is full and our lives heaped up with blessings, it is that we should embrace all mankind, the weakest and the worst, in our passion of brotherhood, that we should be pre-eminent in toil, first in self-sacrifice, brightest and best in love.”

In connection with the Channing Centenary, April, 1880, Beard preached on the American divine, and spoke at the meeting in St. George's Hall, Liverpool, on the following Wednesday. In his speech, he made a careful comparison of Channing with Theodore Parker, to whose grave in Florence he had recently made a pilgrimage. Recognising fully their differences of character and outlook, he said “Both were, in the essential sense of the word, mystics, men who had the vision and the faculty divine, who looked on God's face, and spoke of that which they knew”.

Not unnaturally, Charles Beard's services were much in demand, and, amongst other special occasions when he preached, he opened

twenty-five or twenty-six chapels; he was "not sure which", but "certain that the last" (The Old Meeting, Birmingham), opened October, 1885, "was the most beautiful".¹

Others besides Unitarians thought highly of Beard as a preacher. Charles Kegan Paul (1828-1902), a contributor to *The Theological Review*, Vicar of Sturminster-Marshall, Dorset, 1862-74, hearing that he was about to visit the South of England, asked him to put a sermon in his pocket and preach for him at his parish church. Beard replied by asking what the Bishop would say. "I don't care a fig for the Bishop," was the reply. "Neither do I," said Beard, "but I am in fear of the Quarter Sessions."

Throughout his ministry, Beard paid much attention to the religious training of the young. In the Parsonage at Gee Cross, he conducted a week-evening class for them, and in Liverpool regularly held classes for young people of different ages, giving them instruction in biblical and ecclesiastical history, and more especially preparing them for participation in the Communion Service.

In March, 1881, Charles Beard lectured in St. George's Hall, London, in a course of Ten Lectures by eminent divines, afterwards edited with an introduction by James Martineau, and published under the title of *Positive Aspects of Unitarian Christianity*. The title of the volume, despite its inclusion of the word "Unitarian", cannot have been displeasing to Beard, for the positive note was one he always sought to strike in all his religious utterances, and his own subject, "Jesus", was one on which he loved most to dwell. He

"looked upon Christ", he said, "as the most signal manifestation of that infusion of the human with the divine, which is an universal fact, and found in him the typical example of the method and finest achievement of human goodness".

The Universal Christ and Other Sermons (twenty-six in all) was published by his widow in 1888, the year of his death. In these discourses may be seen his humanitarian doctrine, freedom from sectarianism, and a wide knowledge of nature, man, and literature. The first discloses also that element of mysticism in his nature, which rendered him so sympathetic an interpreter of Quakerism and early Anabaptist teaching.

Alexander Gordon, a ministerial friend formerly settled in Liverpool, said of Beard (1901)²: "In his denomination he took

¹ On 18 April, 1882, he preached at the first meeting of the recently formed National Conference in Liverpool.

² *D.N.B.*

first rank as a preacher, and was equally successful in satisfying a cultured class by his written discourses, and in holding a popular audience by his spoken word". In the ease with which he could interest alike the few or the many, Beard surpassed Martineau. Writing to Mrs. Lant Carpenter, July, 1828, Martineau, in an unpublished letter, described a sermon composed in Dublin.

"I determined to try whether I could sit down and throw away all my trappings of thought and language, and speed my way forward boldly and simply, through a straight course of ideas. And truly I found it no easy task for a man to wage war with himself, to imprison his taste, to strangle all his pet thoughts, and to clothe his feelings in the tatters and beggarly elements of colloquial phraseology. However, I persevered most magnanimously, and though at the end I felt thoroughly discontented with the experiment, I believe the sermon was better adapted to be useful than any other I had written."

The evidence of published sermons and the impressions of hearers suggests that the "experiment" was not repeated.

After Beard's death, a writer in the *Liverpool Daily Post* marked in his ministrations "a depth of emotional, and, we might almost say, evangelical power, not supposed to be characteristic of the Unitarian pulpit".

There is more to be said. His sermons, especially those preached in Liverpool, exhibit, in a degree almost unique amongst men of his school of thought, the union of intellectual power and religious conviction with spiritual insight and felicitous expression.

In theology, Charles Beard did not follow his father, and during his ministry moved steadily to the left, as is clear from a comparison of sermons preached at Gee Cross with those delivered in Liverpool, but he never abandoned the central tenet of Jesus as the supreme revealer of the Divine life and love. In his writings, there is no trace of the philosophy of Priestley and Belsham, derived through Hartley from John Locke. With the older Unitarian scripturalist school, dominated by Belsham, he had little sympathy, and even less with anything that savoured of sectarian propaganda. He was a disciple of John James Tayler and James Martineau, but always a voice, never an echo. "I often think", he once said, "of that great word of Angelique Arnauld's, and make it my own, though possibly not precisely in her sense: 'I am of the church of all the saints, and all the saints are of my church'." Quoting these words again at the Opening of the High Pavement Chapel,

Nottingham (28 April, 1876), he added : " Are Priestley and Channing yours ? not less are Augustine and Pascal ; for you Wesley sings and Keble ; Barclay expounds the deep things of the Spirit, à Kempis teaches the imitation of Christ." Preaching before the West Riding Missionary Association, 11 June, 1873, he declared that Unitarians " had been too exclusively intellectual, logical, controversial in their appeals ", that " the deepest piety, the heartiest love, are able to live in company with any form of faith, no matter how erroneous or superstitious, and that the most logical and defensible creed is no guarantee for their presence ". He rather startled the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, 21 June, 1877, by declaring :

" For myself, I belong to no Unitarian organisation. I will not assume the name under any circumstances whatever. I will take no name, and will allow no name to be ascribed to me, narrower than ' Christian '. . . . The word ' Unitarian ' is regarded in the light of a creed. It is so to me, and to the vast majority of men outside, and therefore I want to get rid of it."

John Hamilton Thom, his predecessor at Renshaw Street Chapel, and his intimate friend, said, 25 May, 1889 :

" I have reason to know that Mr. Beard would have resigned the pulpit from which he preached Unitarianism, if that had been the alternative, rather than have made himself a member of a religious society, or an association of churches with a doctrinal symbol."

None the less, his denominational associations were all with those who, for the more part, were content to call themselves " Unitarians ". He was the President of the Liverpool District Association of Churches, 1878, and of the " Widows' Fund ", connected with the Provincial Assembly, from 1880 until his death. With the leaders of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, however, he frequently found himself at variance, especially when they seemed to assume it was in any way representative of the churches, and in the matter of the name " Unitarian ", as in much that it implied, he was poles asunder from his father. When John Rely Beard in 1874 published *The Autobiography of Satan*, Charles approved neither title nor contents, and declined a notice of it for *The Theological Review* in the interests of amity.

It was not that Charles Beard was false to his spiritual ancestry, or ever recanted his Unitarian opinions. He told his hearers at Hale, 25 March, 1878 :

“ If they had a formulated system of religious truth, which they thought better than any other, let them put it before others as well as they could, but let them escape, for God’s sake, from the misconception of their time, that what they had to do was to substitute in men’s hearts one set of opinions for another, and that when they had done this, they had done a good thing. The church which held the future was that which should offer the freest way and amplest room to every devout soul, should label itself with no name, impose no tests, formulate no creeds, tie itself down to no forms ; in which every impulse of piety should find noble service, the lifebirth of godliness and a childlike trust in a common Father, the only God.”

The last sermon he himself published was a *Sermon on Trinity Sunday* (1887), in which he contrasted the doctrine of the Trinity with the theology of Christ. After affirming the freedom of the church, “ by principle and by inheritance ”, he added : “ At the same time, we are ready to confess that our present theology is what is called Unitarian, and we stand by a theory of the Divine Nature which separates us from the rest of Christendom.” In view of what Beard repeatedly wrote and said, it is difficult to understand why John Watson should have maintained that he “ was not a Unitarian, but an Arian ”.¹ His was, indeed, a comprehensive and catholic ministry of faith and freedom, embracing all that was vital in the thought and life of his forebears, orthodox and heterodox alike, but his indebtedness to his own people he never denied. Thus, in his Introductory words in *The Theological Review*, he says :

“ *Noblesse oblige* ; the descendants of the confessors of 1662 should be above worldly temptation ; those who sit in Lardner’s seat, foremost in sacred learning ; the successors of Priestley, full of unselfish allegiance to the truth ; those who own the same fellowship as Lindsey, not ashamed of a deep and manly piety ; those who call Channing brother, of saintly heart and life ”.

Beard entered with sympathetic appreciation into the scheme for the organisation of the free churches, outlined by the veteran James Martineau, 25 April, 1888, before the National Conference at Leeds. This would have revived the name “ English Presbyterian ”, determined the educational status of the ministry, fixed a minimum stipend, required the endorsement of the personal and practical qualifications of students by district boards appointed by the Provincial Assemblies, and supported country churches by grants from a central fund to which all congregations made contributions. In introducing the Plan, Martineau spoke of Beard :

¹ W. Robertson Nicoll, *Ian Maclaren*, p. 89.

"As an old pupil of mine," adding "we frequently conferred on this particular subject, and I know perfectly well that a great part of what I shall have to recommend to your attention would have been little else than an exposition of his own favourite ideas."

Martineau was an honoured leader, whom, in this matter, his disciples did not follow, but, since his day, by the erection of the General Assembly of churches, advance has been made in the direction indicated by him, and previously supported by Beard.

THE EDUCATIONALIST

In elementary education, Beard's interest, inherited from his father, began with his ministry at Gee Cross, and terminated only with his life. In 1854, a Day School was opened in connection with the chapel, which claimed much of his attention. In the early days of his ministry, Beard had only a morning service on Sunday, but in 1861, when the school was rebuilt and enlarged, he established an afternoon service for young people. He did not teach in the Sunday School, but he taught the teachers, and, amongst other activities, managed the School Savings Bank. In 1866, he published *A Sermon of Education*. Whilst in the Manchester district, he was a member of the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society, established in 1864 by men of different religious denominations at the suggestion of Edward Brotherton, a Swedenborgian. Its objects were to seek out poor children, pay part of their school fees, and, if necessary, provide free schools.

During his Liverpool ministry, Beard was Chairman of the Mount Pleasant Day and Sunday Schools. He made a point of being present at examinations in the Day School, and, writing, 10 November, 1867, cancelling an engagement in London, said :

"I cannot come up to town on the 20th. The School Inspector has fixed that day to examine our day school, and I must be there."

From 1854 to 1859, Beard served on the Committee of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, and from 1857 to 1879 was one of the secretaries of Manchester College, whose interests, to the end of life, he zealously sought to promote. In the capacity of secretary, he was one of a deputation from the College that waited upon the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, President of the Council, 27 June, 1878, praying that

"in establishing any new teaching university, provision may be made for systematic instruction, with examinations, degrees, and honours

in theological philosophy, history and literature, conducted by professors unpledged, in the university or out of it, by articles, creeds, or confessions of faith ”.

The deputation met with a cool reception, and received no encouragement. As was said at the time :

“ The Duke’s acquaintance with the personnel of the deputation was on a par with his indifference to the prayer of their memorial. He would readily have recognised the name of the successful horses for the last twenty years at Goodwood, but, to him, ‘ Martineau ’, ‘ Beard ’ and ‘ Drummond ’ were *vox et preterea nihil*. ”

As Visitor to Manchester College, 1883–8, Beard delivered a number of admirable addresses to the students. Speaking at the close of the Session 1883–4, of their need to make the most of their opportunities, he said, rather surprisingly, “ I can assure you, out of my own regretful experience, that opportunities once slighted rarely recur ”, and added, more in consonance with his actual experience, “ It is a mistake to suppose that theological learning and spiritual life are in any degree at variance, or that the best intellectual training can clip the wings of inspiration, or sap the strength of dutifulness. ” In 1888, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the College, his Address was a fine review of the history of the institution, with inimitable sketches of its teachers, especially of Wellbeloved, Kenrick, and Tayler, and, at the Centennial Service in Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, he preached an eloquent sermon vindicating the liberal principles of his beloved *alma mater*.

In March, 1875, he delivered a course of theological lectures to lay students of both sexes in the Lecture Hall of the Liverpool Institute on “ The Literary History of the New Testament ”. A fee of 2s. 6d. was charged for the course, and the attendance averaged 250. Next year, March–April, he gave a similar course on “ The Principles of Comparative Theology ”, whilst, in the autumn, Sunday lectures in his chapel on “ The History of the Conflict between Science and Religion ” attracted great congregations. On 3 November, 1876, he inaugurated in the Memorial Hall, Manchester, a series of lectures on “ Free Teaching and Free Learning in Theology ” with a brilliant extemporaneous address on “ The Freedom of the Teacher ”, afterwards printed from the shorthand-writer’s notes. He claimed for the human mind as entire a freedom of exercise in theological as in other subjects, defined its method—the search for truth everywhere in the material and moral universe—and its end—the soul flooded with a sense of God’s grace and

presence, leading to the love of God and Man. In October, 1877, he began a course of lectures to women in Mount Pleasant School on "The Political, Moral and Religious Conditions of the Roman Empire in the First Century". So long as health and strength permitted, such courses as these were continued year by year.

Charles Beard's work for University College (now Liverpool University) has been freely acknowledged by those who speak with knowledge and authority. When in 1878 the movement for the establishment of a university college began to take shape, Charles Beard was Chairman of the Committee of the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education in Liverpool which presented a requisition to the Mayor to call a town's meeting to consider the scheme, and he was appointed to draw up a pamphlet explaining the objects of the College. In *The First Page of the History of University College, Liverpool* (1892), Dr. Campbell Brown, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the General Committee, remarks: "The work was mainly done by small sub-committees, including altogether about half a dozen members, of whom it will not be invidious to name one, wise, earnest, and self-denying, the late Rev. Charles Beard." In *A Memoir of Charles Beard*, by Professor A. C. Bradley, it is said that

"the College owes its existence in part to Charles Beard. . . . He was keenly interested in the first appointments on the staff, and he had much to do with the framing of its policy and the construction of its statutes. We owe to him perhaps more than to anyone else that fundamental condition of the constitution of the College by which it was placed in equal relations of sympathy with all religious denominations. . . . After the College was opened, Mr. Beard was Vice-Chairman of its Council, and from his knowledge, energy, and decision, was to the end one of its most useful members."

"Beard was a man", said a later member of the staff, "to whom the University owes a debt that can never be adequately acknowledged. . . . He, more than any other single man, was the inspirer of the movement which led to the foundation of University College. . . . It needed the strong faith, the fine tact, and the practical sagacity of William Rathbone (one of Beard's congregation) to turn the dream into a reality, but the dream would never have been realisable, but for Charles Beard."

No word may be taken from these tributes, though, as the writers knew, Charles Beard never conceived the possibility of a University in Liverpool. That lay beyond his range of vision. Like many another, he "builded better than he knew".

Shortly after his death, a sum of £2,000 was given by Sir Henry Tate to the College

“ to perpetuate the name and memory of Charles Beard, LL.D., one of the founders of University College, for the creating of Scholarships and Fellowships bearing the name of Charles Beard, to be applied to the advancement of Arts Studies, more particularly History ”.

Since 1903, the income of the Fund has been devoted to the foundation of a Research Fellowship in History.

THE PHILANTHROPIST AND POLITICIAN

During the “ Cotton Famine ”, resulting from the American Civil War, 1861–5, the Parsonage at Gee Cross was the centre of relief activities.

“ Many ”, wrote Beard, “ will take from a neighbour, especially if he be also their clergyman or their employer, what they would very unwillingly take from a Board. . . . This is but a matter of feeling and association, I know. Nevertheless, any feeling which helps the poor man to rise above the mean conditions of his existence to a sense of self-dependence and dignity ought to be jealously preserved. . . . I am myself, by the kindness of friends, making allowances of various amounts to some five and twenty families.”

In the work of relief, Beard collaborated with a clergyman, independent ministers, and a Roman Catholic priest, and, in support of the Fund for the distressed, preached in Liverpool, when the collection realised £380. For his poor hearers at Gee Cross, he preached and published, July, 1862, a sermon on *Plain Advice in Times of Distress*.

From September, 1862, to the end of 1864, he was “ Own Correspondent ” of the *Daily News*, writing as “ a Lancashire Lad ”. He visited personally all the impoverished districts, described the relief measures and the educational agencies at work, and carried on a heavy correspondence. Writing to a friend, October, 1862, “ at 10.20 p.m. ”, he said :

“ I am just returned from two days with Kay-Shuttleworth¹ at Burnley. . . . I was never so hard at work in my life. Every week since I saw you, I have written five to six columns of the paper, and visited for that purpose Preston, Blackburn, Wigan, and Burnley, staying from one to two days at each place. That with distress at

¹ Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth (1804–77), Vice-Chairman of Central Relief Committee during Lancashire Cotton Famine.

Hyde, the Chapel, and relief Boards fill up my time to the uttermost. I am going next week to be Mr. Hugh Mason's ¹ guest in Ashton. After next week, I shall only have to write one letter weekly, as the paper is getting filled by the resumption of work by the law-courts. To this slackening of effort, I am looking forward with great pleasure."

Beard knew and loved working-class people and their children. Speaking, 3 June, 1867, shortly after his settlement in Liverpool, he said :

" I have been much amused of late at being condoled with in the rise of certain small cottages, of £18 rent, opposite my house in South Hill Road. Why, for the last seventeen years, I have lived in the midst of cottages of smaller size and less rent. I could hear the children of the poor playing, night and morning, round my house, and I could not go out of my door without receiving the greetings of working men. I have lived among these men ; they formed the bulk of my congregation, their children filled my Sunday School. There is nothing I miss in Liverpool so much as their faces on a Sunday afternoon, looking up to me as I preach. The life of working men does not differ so very greatly from our own life as we are apt to think. We should not like, perhaps, to have no carpets on our floors ; or to have to eat our meals in the same room in which they were cooked. But these things and the like are the accidents of life ; the struggle and toil, the love of family and home, of wife and child, the common hopes and duties of domestic life, all these things pertain to the life of the working man as they pertain to ourselves."

One of Beard's contacts with a workman was somewhat quaint. He journeyed from Hyde to Dukinfield, then without minister, to conduct a marriage, and was given what he called

" the most remarkable marriage fee I ever received. The bridegroom, who came to the wedding as he went to work, enquired : ' What mun I pay yo ? ' I said, ' Nothing,' to which he answered, ' Yo've walked from Hyde, and it's a hot day. Yo' mun have the price of a glass o' beer at all events,' and so he put sixpence in my waistcoat pocket, whether I would or no. It was kindly meant, and I did not despise it, nor run the risk of hurting the man's feelings by refusing it."

On the first Sunday in January, 1868, he preached a sermon in Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool, " in which he made proposals for future practical congregational work ", wherein minister and members should co-operate in visiting and assisting the poor and

¹ M.P. for Ashton.

the sick, and the neglected and untaught children in the town. For this purpose, Beard became Secretary to a District (No. 17) of the District Provident Society, and threw himself into the work with his accustomed energy.

Upon the outbreak of the Franco-German War of 1870, he preached on "Peace or War", and depicted the horrors of warfare, concluding with an indictment of nineteenth century civilisation :

"The squalor, the misery, the disease, which lurk in the dull and dark recesses of our towns ; the ignorance, with which we have at last resolved to grapple resolutely ; the alienation between classes, which on one side at least is felt to be a reproach upon our common Christianity, the drunkenness and the impurity which make a shameless parade of their degradation before our doors—these are the foes, and the only foes, whom we are resolved to fight. Will no heroism be needed, think you, in that war ? no saintly patience ? no self-sacrificing fortitude ? no brave carelessness of human judgment ? no absolute surrender to the purpose of God ? 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.' "

In 1875, he delivered in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, Liverpool, a series of six extemporaneous addresses, afterwards published from the reporter's notes, on *Christianity in Common Life*. They had their origin in his desire to come into contact with people who did not frequent places of worship. Sixteen friends, learning of his wish, guaranteed £10 each towards the necessary expenses. The first address fell on a very wet night, and the audience numbered only some 500. This attendance was trebled the following week, and thereafter the hall was crowded. Writing, 24 January, 1875, he said :

"I have been giving some popular lectures on Sunday evenings in the Concert Hall, a working man's haunt. The subject is 'Christianity in Common Life'. Last Sunday, I had 2,000 people there, of whom about 300 got no seats, but stood all the while. It was a fine congregation to address, but made me feel painfully the responsibility of a preacher."

One address he began, by saying, "I am going to speak to you to-night about a village carpenter." A hiss was heard in the gallery. Beard directed his eyes to the place from where the interruption came, and then slowly and deliberately repeated the sentence. There was no further disturbance. The preacher possessed the magnetism of a great personality pulsing with the love of humanity, and aglow with the fire and zeal of the prophet. In these addresses, of which

more than 2,000 copies were sold, Charles Beard, more clearly than elsewhere, showed himself to be the son of his father. In the last, "On Woman", he pleaded for a woman's "right of a free career". "If she wants to sit in Parliament, let her sit there, if she can find a constituency that will elect her." Scarcely any problem of modern city life remained untouched. A second series, which followed, "Christianity and Social Duties", met with an equally good reception, and on the first Sunday in October, 1885, he conducted the first service in a series, in which others collaborated, held in the Rotunda Theatre, when his audience numbered two thousand. Clearly, Charles Beard was no academic person out of touch with real life.

An incident related later by the Rev. Joseph Wood further illustrates this. A young minister of twelve months' standing, settled in a neighbouring church, came to him in despair.

"He made no headway, seemed powerless to accomplish the slightest good or acquire the least influence; his people indeed attended the services with fair regularity, but he felt himself that his words never touched them, that somehow he never seemed to get near them. Could Mr. Beard advise him? recommend him a course of reading which might be helpful? put him on the right track? Beard turned round upon his young brother and said: 'Do you know what the price of cotton was yesterday?' 'No,' answered the young man, in great astonishment at such a turn to the conversation. 'Do you ever read the *Times*' money article?' 'No, it has no interest for me.' 'But', went on Beard, 'does not that suggest to you a possible secret of your failure? You have no knowledge of what are the great absorbing interests for your congregation six days out of seven; you live entirely outside their world. Here is my advice:—compel yourself to take interest in the things that interest them; it is a first condition of winning them to take interest in the things that are absorbing to you.'"

Beard's dealings with those generally called "sinners" was in the manner of his Master. It was Mrs. Beard's frequent practice to take into her service women to whom it was desired to "give another chance". One came to the door after one of her drunken bouts, sober and begging to be taken in. It was decided this could not be, but Mrs. Beard failed to persuade her to go away, and asked her husband to talk to her. "Well, Charles", said his wife, "what have you said to her?" "I've told her to go upstairs to take off her things." "But what made you do that," enquired his wife. "I could think of nothing while talking to her, but

‘Unto seventy times seven,’ ” he answered. The result was that the woman went, and “sinned no more.”

For sixteen years Charles Beard was the Honorary Secretary of the Liverpool Hospital Saturday and Sunday Fund (established 1870), in which work he was staunchly supported by his congregation, whose collection in its behalf regularly stood at the head of the list of churches. In 1880, for example, their collection on Hospital Sunday amounted to £453. In point of fact, as Beard observed in a letter to Mr. G. Eyre Evans, 3 September, 1887 :

“Renshaw Street Chapel led the way in this movement. We had a Hospital Sunday of our own for five years before the movement became general, namely, from 1866.”

The first collection, in 1860, during the ministry of John Hamilton Thom, realised over £227. Under Charles Beard, 1868, it was £269, increasing in 1870 to £287. “These amounts”, added Beard, “were distributed to the charities by the Minister and Council of the Congregation.”

In the housing of the working classes, Beard was deeply interested, and, in collaboration with Mr. Hugh Shimmins and the medical officer of the town, prepared plans for model workmen’s dwellings. A successful housing scheme was launched, and that at a time before the public conscience had been awakened to the shame of city slums. In 1878, he declared from his pulpit that

“the man who would build and conduct a thoroughly good theatre in the lowest part of Liverpool, and take care that that theatre should present nothing to those who enter except of a refining and elevating kind, would be a great public benefactor”.

He added :

“We are going to make a very interesting experiment on Good Friday. We are giving the ‘Messiah’ in St. George’s Hall. There are to be 100 young people singing, among whom, I am glad to say, are my own daughters. The best soloists that can be got will be got, and, I am told by the conductor, that there will not be a respectable person in the place, off the platform.”

Charles Beard was President, 1870–1, of the Liverpool Domestic Mission Society, established 1836, and, from 1884 to his death, its secretary. He served also as a member of the Committee of the North End Domestic Mission Society, established 1869.

In the best sense of a much-abused phrase, Beard was “a political parson”, and though he did not introduce party politics into the

pulpit, he never concealed his warm support of a progressive political programme. He was proud of the political principles and traditions of the churches with which he was associated. Speaking, 21 August, 1856, he claimed that

“Unitarians belong to the party of progress. How many were opponents of Parliamentary Reform, or the Emancipation of Trade, or Religious Equality, or Popular Education, or Criminal Reforms?—and that not only in prosperous times, but in days when to be a reformer was a dangerous thing.”

Twenty-two years later, 25 March, 1878, preaching in a village chapel, he said :

“These Presbyterian congregations, in their secluded lanes or among their quiet fields, kept alive, in many places almost alone, the flame of true patriotism and good citizenship. Those were days when it was hard to stand up for the people against arbitrary authority, when it required some steadfastness to hold for the colonies of America, and to welcome the first signs of rebellion against the old ‘Régime’ in France, always abhorred of God, and now, at least, without defenders among men. And that their forefathers did, with a patient heroism of which all England now reaps the fruit. . . . Thought and speech in England are evermore free.”

For many years, a member of the executive committee of the Liberal Association in Liverpool, he was one of its most powerful and popular speakers, and took part in almost all the Liberal demonstrations in the town. Like James Martineau, never in favour of the disestablishment of the national church, he spoke and voted against resolutions in favour of it, when opportunity offered, sometimes to the dismay of his Unitarian friends. He held to the ideal of a National Church, as “the noblest external embodiment of religion”—“a church without a creed”, but for the “Broad Churchmen content to conform”, he had little but contempt. In a speech at Dean Row, 21 September, 1853, he observed :

“of a leading member of this school, the late lamented Dr. Arnold, it had often been said that ‘He was too liberal to be a Bishop’; had his theological integrity been equal to his liberality, he would have been too honest to be a Churchman”.

This severe judgment he afterwards qualified, but never the verdict it suggests.

An opponent of the prohibition policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, he preferred, as he said, “to rely on moral suasion rather than on legislative action”. This did not argue any sympathy

with the drink traffic, though, unlike his father, he was not a total abstainer. Indeed, in 1877, he described Liverpool as "a publican's paradise and an honest man's shame"—a remark which gave rise to much bitter controversy. His most active period of political life was between 1874 and 1880, when the Beaconsfield Administration was in office (so admirably described by his friend, P. W. Clayden),¹ which afforded him ample scope for his biting invective. A stout advocate of toleration and freedom, at home and abroad, Beard spoke strongly, February, 1882, at a town's meeting in the Liverpool Town Hall, against Jew Baiting in Russia. He could, and often did, hit straight and hard, but passion never gained control of reason in his utterance. A contemporary described his "splendid voice, rich, deep, musical and of wide range", his "merry banter, passionate denunciation, pathetic and searching appeals".

Many stories are related of his humour. In build, age, height, and appearance, he strongly resembled Mr. Charles Tricks Bowring, of Liverpool. At a meeting when both were present, Beard referred to the number of times he had been mistaken for his friend. "If this goes on", he continued, "I shall be tempted to try it on at the Bank, but unfortunately", he added in melancholy tones, "I am C. B. without the tricks."

For long, Gladstone was his leader and his hero, though he criticised unsparingly the statesman's incursions into theological controversy. With the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, Beard's participation in politics came to an end.

THE TRAVELLER

Beard was fond of travel, and, at that date, for a man in his position, was fortunate in the opportunities he enjoyed to satisfy his desires. Little escaped his notice, and much that he saw served to illustrate articles, lectures and sermons.

In March, 1863, "feeling fagged and tired out" with his labours for the unemployed cotton workers, he went away for a week, and studied a number of English cathedrals.

"We left on Monday and returned on Friday night. Our route was Lincoln, Boston, Peterboro, Cambridge, Ely, and Norwich, Lynn and home. We saw four cathedrals, two of which, Lincoln and Norwich, were new to me. At Ely, we heard a service, with sermon by the Hon. and Revd. Archdeacon Yates, of which the grammar was bad, but the logic infinitely worse. But a night service

¹ *England under Lord Beaconsfield*, London, 1880.

in that vast and splendid building lit up only by two great candelabra was truly striking."

In July, he spent a few days with his friend Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire, near Penmaenmawr, and, in a letter, 28 July, 1863, gave his impressions of another guest, who was much in the public mind at the moment by reason of his devastating criticism of the Old Testament.

"Last week but one, I went down to Pendyffryn for three days to meet the Bishop of Natal; and find him a very courteous, pleasant gentleman. My idea of his personal character is raised by my daily intercourse with him, and I believe him to be thoroughly in earnest and liberal in the very widest sense."

Of another eminent contemporary Anglican, Beard seems not to have shared the high opinion of his Unitarian friends. Writing in 1865, he said:

"There is a life of Robertson of Brighton, which has been announced for some time. I cannot read his sermons, or see what people so greatly admire in them, but, I believe, from the effects which they produce, that something in them there must be."

In the autumn of 1863, he went farther afield. Writing 22 October, he said:

"I got here from the Continent on Wednesday week the 14th, having left here on the 31st of August, in company with Henry Jevons of Liverpool. Rather more than half of the time we spent in Switzerland, the rest in the North of Italy. In Italy, Venice was our furthest point, East; Genoa, South and West. At Milan, we were a couple of days, at Verona, about the same; at Venice, four days, and wished it might have been fourteen. So strange, so individual, and yet so beautiful a place I never saw. Besides these, we spent a day in Padua, and another in Turin, as well as scattered tours in smaller places.

You will have heard of the sad news which met me on my return—the death of my brother John's wife. I did not even know that she was ill, till I got to London and found that all was over."

In September, 1867, he returned from another continental tour to learn of the death of his sister, Mary Winsor (b. 3 January, 1859), after childbirth, an experience which recalled the sorrow which befell him four years earlier under similar circumstances.

In April, 1870, reviewing a volume on the Roman Catacombs, he gave an account of "a recent visit to the Cemetery of St. Callixtus".

“ It was on a fine afternoon in November last, that we left Rome by the Gate of St. Sebastian, and followed the Appian Way to the second milestone, when an inscription over a door, which had once led into a vineyard, informed us that we had reached the object of our quest. . . . Accompanied by a distinguished ecclesiastic, to whose great knowledge and ready kindness we incurred a large debt, we descended a narrow stair and found ourselves in the topmost story, if we may use the word, of the five tiers of galleries which make up the cemetery.”

After a detailed description of what he saw, he concluded :

“ It was strange to think, as we emerged once more into the afternoon sunlight, that by this time was throwing long shadows upon the plain and touching the distant snows with roseate glory, that Papal Rome, clad in all her meretricious splendour, should be condemned to preserve, beneath her own foundations, the irrefutable witness of an earlier and better time.”

These trips to Italy filled Beard with a strong distaste for what he called “ the frippery and tawdriness of Roman Catholicism ”. It was distance that lent enchantment to the view. Referring to his travels, 16 March, 1875, he said :

“ I have seen in a Church in Italy, lofty columns of red Verona marble swathed round with red calico from Manchester for a festival. I have seen the steps of priceless mosaic, which lead up from the nave into the Choir of St. Mark's at Venice covered, not for convenience but for decoration, with an old worn-out Kidderminster carpet. I have found that splendour in Italy means not only red calico, paper flowers and spangles ; but, if there be any picture which may be supposed, from the excellence of its workmanship and the sublimity of its ideal, likely to lead the people to worship, it is carefully covered over with a green curtain, which is only to be withdrawn upon the payment of half a franc by some Protestant Englishman, who is anxious to look at it, and that the pictures which the poor really care for, and the images before which they bow down, are tawdry, misshapen dolls, covered with splendid jewels of glass and the like.”

Of anything like “ frippery ”, Charles Beard himself was innocent. He even boasted that he “ did many unclerical things ”, and commonly “ did not wear a white tie, nor black trousers ”, those distinguishing marks of the nineteenth-century dissenting minister.

Of his occupations on the Italian trips we learn something more from Dr. McLeod, a Wesleyan minister of Birkenhead, who travelled with him on a journey to the Lake District in 1880 :

“ His talk was full of Italy, but Italy from a scholar’s point of view. He had been in old Libraries, had seen famous manuscripts, and had met with interesting men.”

In the summer of 1885, he was again on the Continent, as he said : “ studying the masterpieces of Gothic architecture ”.

Passionately fond of nature, Beard spent many holidays in Wales and Scotland, and occasionally visited the Lake District. He had friends with houses in Wales, or shooting-boxes in Scotland. He stayed several times at Kinnaird, Perthshire. Writing from this hamlet, he says :

“ The life here does not furnish much to report ; fishing, shooting, and walking besides eating, drinking and sleeping—are all we have to do. I was thirteen hours on the moors on Monday, and eleven yesterday, tramping through the heather after the shooters. For myself, I carry no more deadly weapon than a walking-stick. In these two days, we have shot 150 brace of grouse. Crompton Potter made on Monday the largest bag—40½ brace. Mr. Gaskell does not shoot much, though he pops at a rabbit now and then. His chief occupation is whipping weir and loch in unsuccessful pursuit of trout—the largest he has yet caught being but small. If there are any little fishes, the gods are sure to send them to his fly. . . .”

William Gaskell as a fisherman is a favourite target for Beard’s wit. Writing from a place

“ six miles from Dingwall, a glorious country on the edge of the cultivated part of Ross-shire, which is well wooded and with the wild moor, mountains, and loch behind ”, he says : “ I left Gaskell whipping the water very industriously and hoping for the salmon to come out. . . . I am especially delighted with the natural birch woods of the North Highlands. They are inexpressibly soft in colour, and graceful in outline. On my way here, I spent a few hours in Elgin, where a cousin of my wife’s is the Provost’s ‘ leddie ’. It is a nicer town than most of its size in Scotland, with a most interesting Cathedral in ruins.

On Monday, we are off again—this time the whole of us—to ‘ Penmarion ’, Penmaenmawr, where we shall be all September. . . .”

July, 1875, was spent

“ on the north side of the Loch, nearly 30 miles from Pitlochrie, in a shooting lodge of Mr. Ainsworth’s—a very beautiful place, but inaccessible, and rather hard to supply ”.

Still another holiday is recorded at “ Crompton Potter’s shooting place, near Loch Ness ”, now famed as the abode of “ the monster ”.

Charles Beard, as we have seen, could use his feet, and was fond of tramps. He was not the only one. Describing a holiday in 1876, he says, 4 October :

“ we spent July near Capel Curig ; in August I was in the Highlands, first a day or two with Martineau in Strathspey, then with Potter near Inverness. Martineau was in great form (he was 71). He took me up to the top of ‘ a Grampian hill ’, 100 feet higher than Snowdon, and seemed none the worse for a walk of eight hours, and a hard one too.”

On the resumption of his work after another holiday in the early eighties, he described the Sunday as to him “ one of the most solemn of the year, for it is that on which, with powers once more re-invigorated by rest, I begin my work afresh ”. That work was not destined to continue many years longer. He was compelled to accept six months’ leave of absence from his congregation (November, 1886–May, 1887), spent in Italy, and on his first Sunday back, preached a sermon, entitled “ A Parable of Florence ”, a fine lesson on the religion of Art, afterwards included in the volume of sermons posthumously published. It was the last of his visits to the Continent.

THE JOURNALIST

An occasional contributor to the *Christian Reformer*, under Robert Brook Aspland, when it ceased in 1863 Beard was invited by friends to undertake the editorship of a projected new theological journal. The reasons for the venture were set forth in a letter, 22 January, 1864 :

“ What with the defection of the *National* on the one side ; the narrowness, for so it really is, of the *Christian Reformer* on another, and, again, the exclusively popular character of the *Unitarian Herald*, we are fast losing any common sense of our rightful position as a thoughtful and theological people, and going in for simple extension of a dogmatic Unitarianism. Whether it is too late to revive the old thoughtfulness and thoroughness remains to be seen, but at all events we will try.”

Four days earlier, he had written :

“ I did not take it up, because I liked it, but because it was brought to me, and I thought I recognised it as a duty. My chief doubt is not so much, provided I get all the help I expect, whether I can produce a good review of the theologico-religious sort, as whether there is a sufficient public to buy and read it, when it is produced.”

In March, 1864, appeared the first number of *The Theological Review, A Journal of Religious Thought and Life*. It was announced that

“ the new journal will be conducted by members of those Churches which, while many of them trace back their origin to Presbyterian Nonconformity, and all agree in suffering the imposition of no creed, at present rest in the profession of a Unitarian theology.”

In his introductory article, the editor outlined its programme.

“ *The Theological Review* will endeavour to give distinct form and clear expression to the thought, the wants, the aspirations, of the Free Churches to which it makes its first and chief appeal. It will endeavour to quicken their intellectual life by the free admission to its pages of thoughtful and able theological essays, whatever the precise shade of opinion which they may display ; and wherever a marked divergence of theory is known to exist, to secure a fair presentation of the argument on both sides.”

Richard Acland Armstrong, writing in 1880, when the *Review* had ceased, was able to declare with truth that

“ The co-operation of competent scholars and thinkers from every church wherein liberalism is possible gave to *The Theological Review* a position more and more representative of the best and most liberal culture among English theologians ”.

It enlisted, indeed, the contributions of many distinguished scholars outside the Unitarian community, but, more clearly than any other Unitarian journal did it reveal the range and depth of scholarship in the ranks of Unitarian ministers and laymen in the nineteenth century. In one department, that of history, thanks to the comprehensive and judicial survey of men and movements by the editor, and to the original researches of Alexander Gordon, embodied in a series of eleven remarkable articles (1873-9), *The Theological Review* does not suffer by comparison with its forerunners and contemporaries published in London and Edinburgh during the century.

It was, indeed, somewhat too specialist and advanced a journal for the constituency to which it made its primary appeal, and evoked some criticism on this account, and, less reasonably, for its omission of articles on subjects outside the range of its title and interest. As early as 1875, it was said to be “ languishing for want of support ”, and Beard welcomed “ some overtures from America ” to co-operate in its production and publication “ simultaneously

in London and America ". Nothing came of this proposal, however, and the journal was discontinued in 1879.¹

In the later attempts to float Unitarian journals, Beard, not unnaturally, took no part, but to the *Modern Review*, edited by R. A. Armstrong, he contributed, April, 1881, a review of a book by a Frenchman on *The Provincial Letters of Pascal*, which took no account of Port Royal and its connection with the Jansenist Movement.

As already stated, whilst at Gee Cross, Beard contributed for a couple of years to *The Daily News*, then edited by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Robinson, who always spoke in the highest terms of Beard's writing. In Liverpool, for more than fifteen years, Beard was a regular and much-valued contributor to the *Daily Post*, writing on a wide range of subjects, and illustrating his literary articles with reminiscences of his reading and travel. A master of epigram and humour, he had an intimate acquaintance with English, French, and German literature, was a graceful Latinist, and an ardent lover of Greek. He translated from the French the Hibbert Lectures of 1880 by Ernest Renan, preserving the vivacity of the original in flowing English.

THE HISTORIAN

In 1861, Beard published the first of his three most considerable historical works, *Port Royal, A Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France* (2 vols., 8vo). Of its origin, his eldest daughter wrote :

" We children used to watch with awe the increasing pile of MSS., which, we were told, was going to be a book. Almost every evening, when we went to bid him good night, we found him at his desk with those sheets before him, and great was our pride when we learned that the mysterious papers had become ' The History of Port Royal '."

Mrs. Beard, writing 26 December, 1908, recalled the part she played in its production :

" I well remember how Charles resisted my wish that he should write and publish ' Port Royal '. He said we were too poor. But I persuaded him that the money could be spared, and, in his written dedication to me, he wrote some precious words, saying the book could not have been published but for me. He was always so generous. . . ."

¹ For an account of the *Review* and its contributors, see the writer's *Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England*, I.

Port Royal is not only a pioneer work, "An attempt", in the words of the Preface, "to supply to English students a chapter of the History of Christianity heretofore unwritten", it is also a sketch of the leaders of the Jansenist Movement, their disciples and their antagonists, written with psychological insight, sympathetic imagination, and critical acumen. Based upon original memoirs and a close study of all the available literature relating to the chief characters, it represents five years' research by one whom Professor A. C. Bradley afterwards described as "a student through and through", whose "range of knowledge in *litteris humanioribus* I have known equalled only twice or thrice", and who "had in a degree I have never seen equalled the full and immediate possession of what he knew". It was a delicate task for a Protestant, and, in particular, for one with such radical convictions as Beard, to trace the nice theological distinctions that meant so little to him and so much to the devout Romanists of Port Royal, and to present, with reverence and fidelity, the relation of their controversies to the inner spiritual life of the community, whilst, at the same time, never refraining from passing judgment on such matters of morality as they involved. Occasionally he contents himself by putting searching questions, left unanswered, that provoked the reader to penetrate to the heart of the problem under discussion, as when, in reference to Pascal's theory of religious evidence, he asks :

"What is the function of reason in regard to revelation? Has it a critical office to perform towards the truth which it is confessedly unable to originate? . . . Is it right that reason should freely test even the external authentication of revealed truth, or is there an authority which may stand in the place of evidence, and imposes a system of doctrine upon the unwilling mind?"

"The history of Port Royal", said Professor Ramsay Muir, "is the best book in English upon that group of French scholars and thinkers, with whose temper Beard found himself deeply in sympathy. It is amazing that work so admirable should have been done by a man with so little leisure for research, and with so little command over the elaborate equipment of books and material which modern scholarship demands."¹

The work attracted much attention and was very favourably reviewed, for the spirit in which it was written struck a chord of sympathy in the hearts of men of many creeds. One journal, however, as Beard himself reports, praised it highly, concluding

¹ *William Roscoe*, An Inaugural Lecture, Liverpool, 1906.

with the promise that the notice should be continued in the next issue.

“ Before the issue of the next number, it had been found out that the author was a Unitarian, and the continuation never appeared.”

The work is said to have come under the notice of the Queen.

Beard was no narrow specialist, able to write at great length on one period of history and on no other. Amongst the celebrations by Unitarians of the Bicentenary of “ The Ejection of 1662 ”, a course of lectures was delivered at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, in which J. J. Tayler, Charles Wicksteed and Charles Beard took part. On 28 May, 1862, Beard lectured on “ Nonconformity in 1662 ”, a masterly discourse, in which he incidentally remarked : “ The two thousand were not willing Dissenters ; nor am I ”, but, to the charge that the old dissenting chapels were occupied by those “ who were no true sons of their forefathers ”, he made answer :

“ Our fathers were men who would not have their sons stand still, and we never are so truly their children, as when we press eagerly on whithersoever truth and duty seem to lead.”

On 20 July, 1862, he opened the new church at Grey Abbey, and discoursed on Non-Subscribing Presbyterianism. Writing on the 22nd, he said :

“ On the 19th I went to Belfast via Liverpool, preached twice at Grey Abbey, about twenty miles off, and came back on the 21st, sleepy and seedy, having been two nights—out of three—out of bed.”

In the same month, Beard was invited to lecture in Edinburgh before the Philosophical Institution on the subject of “ The Pilgrim Fathers ”. He preferred to speak on “ Port Royal ”, for, as he said, with some exaggeration and warmth :

“ I know nothing about ‘ Pilgrim Fathers ’, and do know something about ‘ Port Royal ’. Why should Dr. Tulloch have appropriated my subject ? And how is it consistent with my self-respect to join him in a course of lectures on these terms ? Is it not equivalent to a statement on the part of the Directors that he, who has not written upon ‘ Port Royal ’, is fitter to lecture upon it than I who have, and do not I acquiesce in their judgment ? ”

His friend, John Gordon, a former member of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, contrived to answer Beard’s questions to his satisfaction, and he lectured on the subject allotted to him.

In March next year, he took the same topic for two lectures to Gordon's congregation at Kenilworth, naming the first "The Exodus" and the second "The Promised Land", and spending the week with his friend. They were afterwards printed in *The Theological Review* (1867), as "The Pilgrim Fathers, A Study in Puritan History".

In 1883, appeared Beard's Hibbert Lectures on *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Relation to Modern Thought*. It ran into several editions, and was reprinted in 1927, with an Introduction by Principal Ernest Barker. Its place in the extensive literature on the origins of Protestantism is assured. Dr. Barker compares it with Maine's *Ancient Law* and Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* as a book which formed a "landmark" in his reading, and adds,

"The forty and more years which have passed since it was first published have not dimmed its light or superseded its substance. It remains a book in which a candid and generous intelligence has expressed, in admirable and often eloquent English, a general view of the Reformation alike in its beginnings, its course, its consequences and its modern implications which none can read without profit, and few without admiration."

The book does not profess to be a detailed history of the Reformation period, and stress is laid by Beard in his Preface on the latter part of its title: "the relation of the results of the Reformation to modern knowledge and modern thought". It reveals not only wide reading and a close acquaintance with sources but also a detached philosophical judgment and a profound sense of the channels of thought running beneath the surface of events from one age to another. Beard, it may be, was wrong in the reasons given for the execution of Haetzer, 4 February, 1529, the first Unitarian martyr. He hardly realised the crucial position of the burning of Servetus in the history of Protestant toleration, as did Alexander Gordon in his review of the book or Harnack in his *History of Dogma*; the radicalism of Socinus as a Biblical scholar is not clearly brought out, and some details of his personal history are incorrectly stated, but these errors, uncorrected in the edition of 1927, even when taken with a tendency to overrate the merit of Erasmus, do not materially qualify the eulogy of Dr. Barker. The volume contains, undoubtedly, a most valuable discussion of principles born of Protestantism and woven into the web of modern thought.

The Lectures elicited flattering notices even from the most

unexpected quarters, and tributes from men like Gladstone and Lord Acton. Writing, 23 August, 1884, the great statesman said :

“ I very seldom volunteer a letter ; indeed, now that I think of it, this is hardly volunteered. It is, I may say, extorted from me by the singular merits of your Hibbert Lectures, with which I have only just become acquainted. I have nearly finished the delightful task of reading them, and I shall run to great length were I to say all I think in their praise.

I have never read anything so good, in so brief a compass, on the English Reformation, still probably the least understood of all. It is not, however, mere concurrence of opinion (varied rarely by dissent), nor even the great power and richness of the volume, which most impress me. It is the large and generous spirit of the book, and the gift it shows of bringing out the nobleness of mixed characters, a gift which must be allied with something ethically similar in the writer.

After saying this, I wish to put in a plea for Augustine. I cannot think he ought to be put in a leash with Luther and Calvin, except as to what was best in them. His doctrine of human nature is substantially that of Butler, and he converted me about 45 years ago to Bishop Butler's doctrine.

I will not trouble you further ; though I am tempted, sorely tempted, to ask whether *you* really think there is a true antithesis between authority and reason. I know it is a favourite phrase. All systems have their slang, but what I find in almost every page of your book is that you have none.”

John Morley quotes from this letter in his *Life of Gladstone*, stating that Beard, described as “ a learned Unitarian ”, sent him the Hibbert Lectures.

Charles Beard replied from “ Saundersfoot, Pembrokeshire, Aug. 8th (1884) ” :

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE.

Your very kind letter has been forwarded to me here, where I am enjoying a summer's holyday ; and I hasten to acknowledge its receipt and to thank you for it. No appreciation of my work could be more grateful to me than your's, and that on more grounds than one. I am especially pleased that I have, in your opinion, succeeded in reaching the height of impartiality from which Church History ought to be, though it too seldom is viewed. Apart from the declared thesis of the book, my chief object was to bring out the essential unity of faith & feeling which seems to me to underlie all genuine manifestations of Christian belief, by throwing myself, as far as possible, into the intellectual and religious position of the men with whom I had to do.

If I may for a moment occupy you, with a reply to the question which you ask in the last paragraph of your letter—surely, there is a point, at which a formal antithesis between reason & authority in matters of religion manifests itself. As, e.g. when the Pope imposes upon a reluctant Catholic his doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, or of his own official infallibility. The disciple must then choose between the dictates of the authoritative Head of his Church—and the deliberate outcome of his own research and reasoning. At the same time I am quite ready to admit, that in the formation of the great mass of one's religious opinions—reason & authority work together ; and that it is not always easy to disentangle what is due to one, from what is due to the other. Is it not a case in which philosophical distinctions, true in themselves, and in the abstract, are very imperfectly reflected in the complex affairs of actual life ? But I feel that I have no right to trouble you further. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure & encouragement, than that you, in the midst of such important avocations, should have felt the impulse and found the time to write to me such a letter as I have received, and I thank you for it most heartily.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. Gladstone, who, I trust, does not wholly forget me—and with my best wishes for a successful campaign in Scotland, and a victory, in which we are both so deeply interested.

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
CHARLES BEARD.

Beard's letter to Gladstone discloses the breadth and liberality of his view of Christianity, which rendered obnoxious to him every manifestation of narrow sectarianism, whatever its origin or operation, whilst his answer to the question on the relation of reason and authority makes plain why he remained from first to last a stalwart pillar in the church of his father.

Lord Acton received a copy of the *Hibbert Lectures* from J. F. Bright, Master of University College, Oxford, whom he engaged in controversy on the subject of their contents, and afterwards recommended them to Mary Gladstone "as a stimulant".

The year after Beard's death appeared his *Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany* (1889). Edited by J. Frederick Smith, it was "the first instalment of a larger work on the History of the Reformation", ending with the close of the Diet of Worms. It is not, however, an unfinished fragment, but a volume of 458 pages left by the writer ready for the press, tracing the career of the Reformer from the cradle to the summit of his greatness. As its editor observed : "From the list of authorities and from the notes

it will be seen that Dr. Charles Beard kept pace to the last with the latest research in a field which has been upturned by the critical industry of specialists." Professor Muir described it as "one of the sanest and most sympathetic estimates of Luther". Had it been completed, it might well have taken a high place as a critical study, for Beard united with the skill of a biographer the research of the historian and the grace of a man of letters. A few *obiter dicta* reveal his personal opinions, as when he speaks of "Greek and Hebrew" as "languages equally essential to the student, whether education be regarded from the humanist or the purely theological point of view". "Beard", said the late Professor Herford in 1929,¹ "had he not been the minister of an unpopular denomination, would have been recognised as one of the foremost historical and theological scholars of his day."

CHARLES BEARD AND HIS FRIENDS

Beard had a genius for friendship, and easily won the esteem and affection of ministers and laymen, some of whom have been already named, from whom no difference of polity or even principle ever separated him. In this connection, it is not idle to speak first of John Relly Beard. Every "Father and Son", as Sir Edmund Gosse's vivid autobiographical sketch proves, do not remain on the best of terms when in matters of religion, of deep moment to both, they are at issue. John Relly and Charles Beard had been teacher and pupil; they were *alumni* of the same College, ministers in the same group of churches, stationed throughout their ministries in the same Province, and for many years members of the same Ministers' Meeting. Both were leaders in their religious community, both journalists, editors, and ready speakers, and whilst the father was Principal of one College, the son was Secretary of the other. Men of strong individuality, they were confronted on numerous occasions with opportunities for clashes of opinion. It says much for both that they reached an honourable concordat. In the words of the son: "We keep the peace on condition of each going his own way without remonstrance." This meant, not the severance but the preservation of family and friendly relations. The two collaborated in the *Latin Dictionary*, published by Cassells in 1854. In the copy of *Port Royal* presented to John Relly Beard, its author greeted him as "best of fathers, most learned and most benevolent" (*Patri optimo eruditissimo benevolentissimo hunc*

¹ *Joseph Estlin Carpenter : A Memorial Volume*, p. 26.

librum d.d. Auctor), and the father contributed to *The Theological Review*, edited by the son, in 1870 and 1871.

The death of the father, 22 November, 1876, gave the son an opportunity of expressing his mind, in a letter to an intimate friend, on the cordial relations which had existed between them.

“ I feel as if this event had made me older all at once—to be the eldest of our family places me in a fresh relation to the generations past and present. And certainly there is no one left to take the same kind interest in everything that I did, or to rejoice in the same way in any little success I might achieve. As you know, I have been long accustomed to walk alone, but it is sad to think that I have no one to go to, as I could go to him, and who had the right to speak to me, as he had. . . .”

Less than two years later, Beard suffered another great personal loss by the unexpected death of Thomas Elford Poynting, minister at Monton, who in 1874 had succeeded John Rely Beard as Theological Tutor at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board. Writing, 5 April, 1878, he said :

“ Poynting’s death will make a great loss in our ministerial circle here. No one was more universally beloved. He and I went to College in the same year, and for 55 years we had maintained the closest friendship, untouched by shock or jar. He spent a few days here, only a week or two before the fatal stroke came. . . .”

It was largely through the influence of Beard that a remarkable man, who afterwards played a conspicuous part in the Unitarian circle, found his way therein, on his “ spiritual pilgrimage from authority to freedom ”. Charles Hargrove, Litt.D. (1840–1918), at the critical point in his career (1876) was engaged as University Extension lecturer in Liverpool, and “ came into close and frequent contact with Charles Beard. To be a friend of Charles Beard was to be in touch with whatever was most alive and promising in Unitarian thought ”, and it was

“ through him that Hargrove came to understand the significance of the Unitarian position as he had never understood it before, and to see that it provided the very opening his mind had been groping after, more or less clearly, since he left the Church of Rome.”¹

As a letter-writer, Beard was constant to his friends. With the Rev. John Gordon (1815–80), he corresponded for more than thirty years, and to him, after his death, he paid a warm and tender tribute.

¹ L. P. Jacks, *From Authority to Freedom*, p. 280.

Beard's Unitarian Association Sermon (1861) was "affectionately inscribed to my friend and neighbour the Reverend John Gordon". In March, 1863, he ended an epistle :

"This is a long letter—especially to be written on Saturday. Do not reply with a shabby single sheet, which is equally profitless for the mind and the waste-paper drawer."

And on Christmas Day, 1876, apologising for not having written recently, he said :

"You know well my love for you both is not capable of change, however much its expression may be interrupted by intervals of silence."

His letters, of course, were not literary compositions intended for publication, but the informative epistles of a busy editor, or the confidential communications of an intimate friend. One of the latter, addressed to Gordon respecting a sermon by his son, afterwards (1890-1911) the distinguished Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, illustrates Beard's style, his power of appreciating sentiments from which he differed, and his insight into the character and abilities of the preacher. Writing from Liverpool, Saturday, (1 June, 1870), he says :

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I cannot resist the temptation of writing a line (though I am very busy to-day, being off to London to-morrow night) to tell you what an admirable sermon Alexander gave us at the Provincial on Thursday. It produced different impressions on different people—but, at all events, I and R. D. Darbishire and my wife agreed not only in liking it very much, but, what is better, being very much moved by it. With a good deal of it, I disagreed, but that does not matter. It was a strong, manly, personal, earnest utterance of what was in his mind and heart ; excellently written, and forcibly delivered. He considerably startled the Assembly by prefacing the Lord's Prayer by an invocation beginning "O Lord Jesus Christ, grant &c. —but this trial to their catholicity they bore triumphantly, and no one made open objection. I wish you had been there, and had your own impression, instead of my hasty report, but I deliberately think he did himself infinite credit, and gave great promise of what may be to come.

But perhaps you and Mrs. Gordon will think it only impertinence in me to praise your boy. So, as I really have not a moment to spare, accept for both, my, and my wife's love

and believe me

Yours affectionately

C. BEARD.

As the years went by, old friends passed on. Happily, Charles Beard, like his friend the old and ever-young James Martineau, found that "Nothing so lightens the gathering shadows of old age as the friendship of the young, and the eager hopes which their noble aims and personal faithfulness awakens". Young people stranded in Liverpool at Christmastide would find a welcome and a place at his dinner-table; and ardent young hearers would accompany him home on Sunday evening and stay to supper. Always by his wit and humour he won his way to their hearts, as by his teaching he carried conviction to their minds.

THE LAST DAYS

In February, 1888, he received the Honorary Degree of LL.D. from the University of St. Andrews. It was communicated to him *in absentia* by Professor William Knight. This well-earned recognition of his scholarship came almost too late. He was then a stricken man. A fine constitution had been undermined by excessive toil, under what he once described as "the frightful tyranny of a large town".

After he returned from his last visit to Italy, his ministry was brief. Another breakdown followed, and he went to Bournemouth. Thence he wrote to a friend in Liverpool, 8 December, 1887 :

"My absence is a most unwilling one, forced upon me by medical advice and the kindness of my congregation. Had I followed my own inclination, I should certainly have tried to struggle on at home. I hope about Christmas or the New Year to address the congregation."

To the last, his mind was occupied with the welfare of his old college, and especially with its impending removal to Oxford. After his death, Mrs. Beard presented, 3 April, 1889, to Manchester College the books collected by him on the subjects of Port Royal and the Reformation in Germany, 1,040 in all. In her letter conveying information of the gift, she said :

"I know no other home for them could be so in accord with my husband's wishes as the Library of the College to which he owed so much, and for whose removal to Oxford he never ceased to hope. His last words to me on the subject—almost his last upon any subject—were full of regret that the news of the then freshly awakened effort in that direction had not sooner been told to him, so that he might have helped it by his pen, though more active interest was denied him."

Charles Beard died in Liverpool, 9 April, 1888, and the Committee of Manchester College placed on record their sense of the loss they had sustained by the death of one "who was himself among the most distinguished of the *alumni* of the College, served it devotedly as secretary and visitor for a long term of years, and eloquently maintained its essential principles in the wide domain of religion and letters". The interment took place in the graveyard attached to the Ancient Chapel, Toxteth.

The passing of Charles Beard was the occasion of a signal manifestation of the respect in which he was held by men of all political parties and churches in Liverpool, where few citizens had been more prominent, or counted for more, during his twenty-two years' residence in the town. The Memorial Service at Renshaw Street Chapel was conducted by the Rev. J. E. Odgers, M.A., Hope Street Church being closed to allow the minister and congregation to attend there. A Memorial Service was held at Hope Street on the following Sunday. Other memorial sermons preached on the occasion included one by a clergyman in the Church for the Blind, and another by a Methodist minister in his own chapel.

A medallion portrait of Beard, executed by Mr. Hope Pinker, was erected in Renshaw Street Chapel, and subsequently in the Cloisters of the new Church in Ullet Road: a Memorial Tablet was placed in the Chapel of Manchester Chapel, Oxford, and a striking portrait, which had been in the autumn exhibition, was presented in 1889 to University College, Liverpool.

A fine scholar, an eloquent preacher, a noble-minded Christian, Charles Beard was pre-eminently a prophet of the coming day, who "looked for the city which hath the foundations, whose builder and maker is God", and, in the words of Odgers, he "looked to religion to save, in every generation, the soul which might be lost in the midst of material prosperity".

The versatility, capacity and character of Charles Beard may be realised from the impression he made upon the mind of Dr. L. P. Jacks.

"Next to James Martineau, Beard was the most conspicuous figure in the Unitarianism of that day, a man in whom idealism and realism were well mingled, eminent both as a scholar and as a divine, a brilliant writer, a powerful orator in the pulpit and on the platform. In the Church of England he would have become a bishop, in politics a Cabinet Minister, in journalism editor of the *Times*."

Charles Beard left a widow, six daughters and one son.

Some years after her husband's death, Mrs. Beard left Liverpool (1892) for Oxford. Sixteen years later, 1908, she returned to Liverpool and died there, 9 December, 1910. She was buried, 13 December, in the grave at the Ancient Chapel of Toxteth, where her husband was laid twenty-two years earlier.

JAMES RAIT BEARD, J.P.

(12 January, 1843—4 March, 1917)

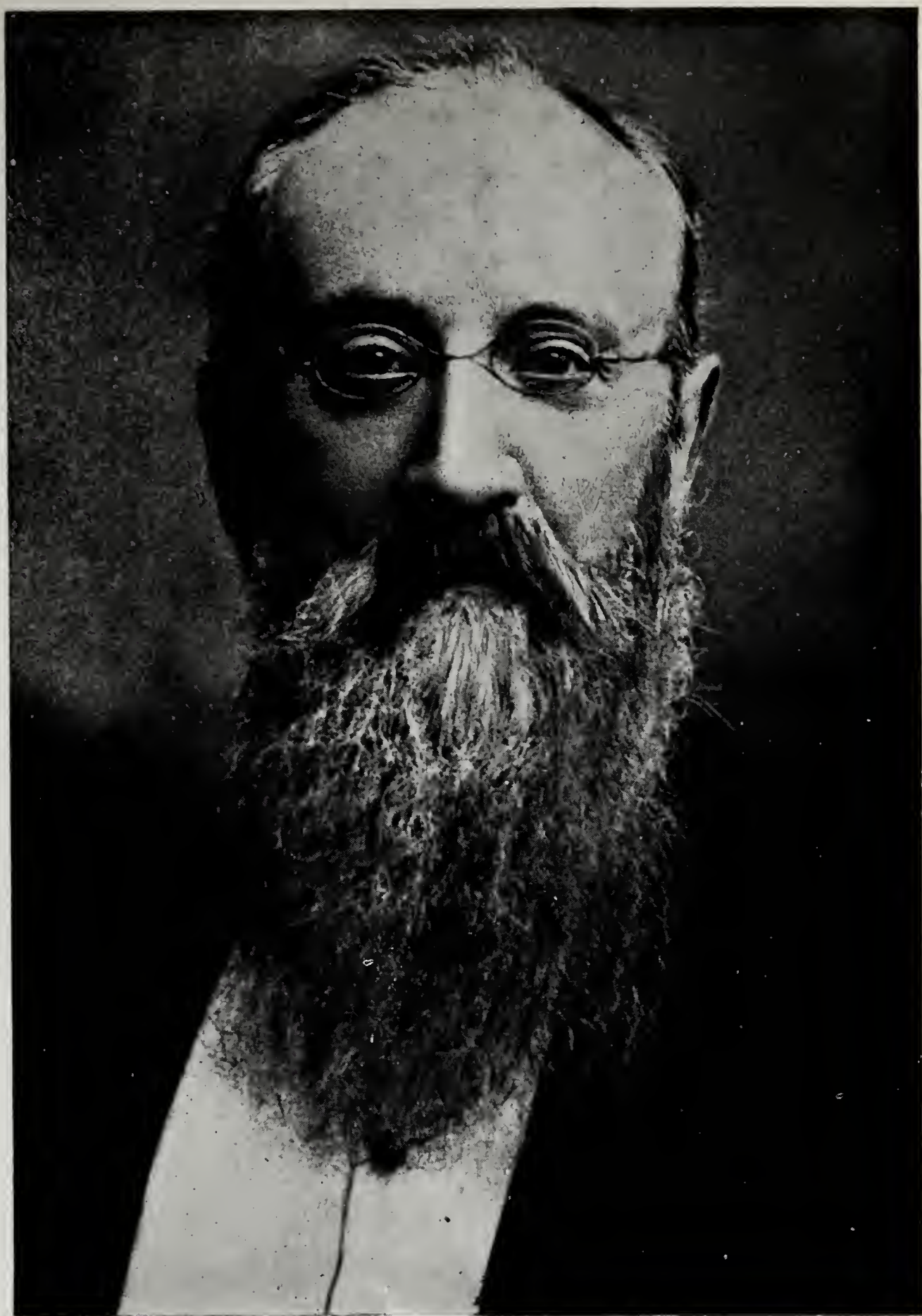
JAMES RAIT BEARD, ninth child and third surviving son of John Relly Beard, was born at Camp Terrace, Lower Broughton, Manchester, 12 January, 1843. After preliminary training at home, he began his education (1853) at the school in Pendleton kept by J. R. McKee, formerly assistant at his father's school at "Stony Knolls",¹ and, in company with his sister Mary, made the journey to school every morning on foot. At ten years of age an opening presented itself for the exercise of latent business abilities, when he was entrusted with an allowance for pocket money of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ a week. At eleven, on his master entering the ministry at Shrewsbury, he was transferred to the Étienne School, Stony Knolls. At sixteen, his business life began with a salary of five shillings a week.

He was by nature a blithe and light-hearted youth, one who, in his father's words, could wear "cap and bells", and had "a natural gift in the art and mystery of making people merry". As an entertainer, he found scope for the exercise of his talents in the provision made for the poor of the district in the neighbourhood of Bridge Street Chapel during the "Cotton Famine" in Manchester. In the schoolroom, in October, 1862, where classes in "the three R's" were established by his father's congregation, he and a colleague made himself responsible for entertaining the distressed on Thursday evenings, and drew audiences of four to five hundred weekly. An accomplished *raconteur*, intimately acquainted with the Lancashire dialect, he was throughout life a welcome speaker, in public and in private.

In 1863, he was engaged by Lyell, Rennie and Co. to represent them in India, and, after a few weeks in Glasgow, acquiring a knowledge of the trade, he set out for Calcutta on a four years' contract, provided with letters of introduction from Sir John Bowring to the principal houses in the city.

On 23 January, 1864, eleven days after his twenty-first birthday, he was invited to dine at Government House with Sir Charles

¹ See pp. 6-7.



JAMES RAIT BEARD

E. Trevelyan, formerly Governor of Madras and then Financial Member of the Council, whose distinguished son, George Otto, met his future wife a year later in the person of Caroline, daughter of Robert N. Philips, the stout friend and supporter of John Relly Beard. A more singular event befell young Beard in Calcutta as the result of the receipt by post of an invoice for an infant's feeding-bottle. Enquiry proved that the Beard, to whom it should have been delivered, was an otherwise unknown second cousin, grandson of John Relly Beard's uncle, Richard Bowden Beard. Many years later, Edward Beard, the babe born in Calcutta, became a friend of the family of James Rait Beard, and, with his sister, Kate, stayed with them on holiday at Red Wharf Bay, Anglesey. The incident had another result. It quickened the impulse in Beard to investigate the origins of his family, a task to which he gave much time and thought in later years.

During the summer of 1864, James Beard suffered from a succession of severe illnesses, and his father, writing, 18 September, 1864, said :

" If your health is at all seriously affected, come home by all means, as on no account would I have you run any risk. Your constitution must not be damaged by remaining in Calcutta."

Unhappily, the mischief had been done, and James Beard's subsequent career was passed always under the threat, and often the experience, of bodily affliction consequent upon his stay in India. As he was also soon to learn, risk to life was not confined to the climate of Calcutta. Leaving Calcutta on a sailing ship, and travelling round the Cape, he found himself in a cyclone on the Indian Ocean, which carried the vessel down near Australia. On 20 November, off Natal, he saw a waterspout, and in a gale the boat lost the mizzen topmast and wheel.

In his diary, he preserved a vivid narrative of his experience.

" It was off the Western Islands, or, as they are generally called, the Azores, that we lay tossing one day last January. The Ship, the *Sterling Castle*, was a strong iron clipper of about 1,200 tons ; the captain was a tried sailor, the mate and officers scarcely less so. For thirteen days, had we lain tossing on the stormy Atlantic, sometimes with not a sail spread, sometimes with a storm sail about as large as a lady's pocket handkerchief, which in a few hours would be blown away from the yards. For ten days, we had been very unlucky with our dinners. Either it was too stormy to cook, or all hands were wanted to make or take in sail. Even when the cook found

time and opportunity to prepare a meal, some envious wave had come leaping through the cook-house, carrying the dinner, and, on one occasion, the cook himself, away into the scuppers. So we had been living on cold salt beef, commonly called by the sailors salt-horse, and ship biscuits. All during the day, my fellow passengers and I had been bailing water out of the cabin. At last came the night we thought must be our last. We ourselves, our boxes and portmanteaux, and even our sleeping bunks were wet through, and had been for days. . . . At last night came. We prepared to go on deck to see how things looked. On reaching the deck, we saw one of the finest sights human eyes can see. I have seen thunder and lightning storms on the equator ; dust and rain storms in India ; whirlwinds that have blown the railway carriages off the track, and hailstones as large as walnuts, but for grandeur nothing can compare with a storm at sea. I have seen waterspouts lifting themselves to the clouds, as if the ocean were raising its hands in prayer, or sending up watery incense to its Maker ; I have sailed through water that glared from the ship's side to the far distant horizon with green phosphorescent light, reflecting its death-like hue on the ship and its inmates, till in imagination one felt as if in a ship of the damned sailing on the fiery waves of Hell. Many and various manifestations of Almighty Power have I seen on sea and land, but never any to equal in grandeur the storm of that night. The sea and sky seemed animated with one furious anger, and waves and clouds rushed through space as if driven wild with rage. At one moment, the ship would be at the summit of a mountain of water, and, again, low down in a valley, while the waves towered above the top of the masts, and there curling their haughty heads bent over us, as though about to crush us in their foaming fury. The wind, whistling through the yards and ropes, groaned and wailed so that I could not hear what my companion, who was standing by my side, was saying, and, skimming over the sea around, darted the storm birds, said by the sailors to be the spirits of their departed comrades buried at sea, giving a weird and ghostly unreality to the scene. Scarcely had we reached the deck than one mighty sea broke over the ship at the foremast and came rushing aft, carrying with it men, boys, spars, hen pens and their occupants, filling the decks to the depth of five or six feet, till the water more or less escaped through the scupper holes and over the bulwarks, and the stout old ship heeled over to leewards. The first part of the ship that this immense wave struck was the foretopmast yard at a height of 67 feet. . . . Fortunately, no one was killed. . . . That night none of us attempted to sleep, but all did our best to repair the damage . . ."

It must have been with considerable relief that on 30 January, 1865, Beard landed at Liverpool, though his happy disposition always led him to make the best of everything.

After his return to England, he steadily applied himself to business. Appointed first buyer, then salesman in the Manchester trade with a salary of £300 a year, he married, 21 January, 1868, Mary (Minnie), daughter of John and Eliza Wilkinson at Ryton-on-Tyne, Northumberland, and set up house in simple style at 249 Waterloo Road, Cheetham Hill, Manchester.

His business prospects brightened year by year, until in 1869 he entered into partnership with Charles James Agate, as Grey Cloth Agents; the firm becoming, with the entrance of another partner in 1876, Beard, Agate & Co. In 1870, he removed to Bredbury, and, four years later, to Godley, and, remaining in the Manchester district, he finally settled at Knutsford.

In the letter already quoted, which his father, then sixty-four years of age and in indifferent health, had written to him in India, he had been bidden :

“sacredly preserve the spiritual relationships, sympathies and expectations that ally you with your father and mother more intimately, more enduringly, and more durably than any other. If I am to be deprived of your society in this world to a great extent, I will never cease to cherish the assurance that it is and will remain mine in the world to come”.

This solemn charge was never forgotten, and James Beard became in due course easily and naturally one of the most honoured leaders in the Unitarian community, an ardent philanthropist, and a good citizen.

Like his father, whose memory was ever dear to him, an uncompromising Unitarian in fact and in name, he yet maintained the principle of toleration characteristic of John Relly Beard and the best minds amongst the so-called “Radical Dissenters”.

Writing, 17 November, 1886, to a daughter at school in Germany, he said :

“Your last letter has given me great concern. I very much regret that at your age you should already have to suffer for your persuasion, and be the object of unscrupulous proselytism. . . . I do not conceal from you that it would be a very great grief to me, were you at any time to accept the irrational, and, as I think, the irreligious doctrines of Trinitarianism, thus separating yourself from the interests of the rest of the family, and dissociating yourself from much of which your Grandfather’s descendants had all need to be proud, but were this to ensue, I could bear it better than to think that I had imposed my form of belief on a young mind, to which some other form, however erroneous in my idea, was more fruitful in the nurture of piety and religion.”

Almost every office which a layman could hold in the church fell in succession to James Beard. He was President of the Manchester District Association of Churches, 1889; of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1890-1; of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1892; and of the National Conferences of Churches, 1897-1900.

During his presidency of the Manchester churches, he organised, in the manner of his father, a series of popular services, by local ministers, held in the Hulme Town Hall, which were largely attended. As President of the National Conference, on 21 July, 1897, he headed a deputation presenting an Address to the Queen on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee, which was received by the Prince of Wales.

In the Address, it was observed that "The Churches represented in the Conference have, during your reign, been granted a security, which they never before enjoyed, and have been permitted to share in advantages from which they had previously been debarred."

Of the Memorial Hall, Manchester, Beard was a Trustee from February, 1889, and succeeded Harry Rawson as Treasurer, 12 February, 1904. He was a member of the Committee of Manchester College, 1892-1900, and a Manager of the Ministers' Stipend Augmentation Fund from 1897.

He was recognised as an excellent leader even by those who did not always share his opinions. He could warmly oppose a policy, whose supporters he continued to respect, and never proved himself an irreconcilable when his policy was defeated.

When the Manchester District Churches entered upon the "Forward Movement" in 1896, he was Vice-Chairman of the Committee which organised the great Bazaar held to finance it, and, at the close of the opening ceremony on the last day of the Bazaar, was presented with his portrait in pastel, in recognition of "the esteem and affection with which he was regarded", and of "The services to the cause represented by the Bazaar".

James Beard was a Trustee of five Unitarian chapels, and few efforts to raise funds for Unitarian purposes failed to come under his notice. During his residence at "Hazlefield", Knutsford, he was one of the chief supporters of the ancient chapel associated with the name and fame of Mrs. Gaskell.

Above all else, his labours for the College founded by his father were as marked as they were efficient. A member of the Committee

of the Institution from 1885, he was Treasurer, 1886-1914, and President, 1900-1, 1904-5. He took a deep personal interest in the welfare of the students, and several times, during his residence in Richmond Grove, C.-on-M., he entertained them to dinner. In the celebration of the Jubilee of the College by raising £20,000 for the purchase and endowment of a Hall of Residence, he was a commanding figure. As President, it fell to his lot to take the chair at the Meeting in the Memorial Hall, 7 July, 1904, which marked, with a singular enthusiasm, the close of the celebrations. In his address, he said that it had been desired

“that as the father led the way fifty years ago in the foundation of the College, so the son should initiate the second half-century of its existence—that the honour which the father had earned should fall upon the son. . . . It is one for which indeed I can plead but one justification—a loyal and heartfelt devotion to the College, and to the cause it serves.”

He then briefly reviewed the history of the College, and the period when it came into being, and concluded :

“The founders have passed into the region of wider knowledge, of clearer insight, of fuller achievement. It is for us, their sons and successors, honouring their memory, cherishing the fruits of their labours, and mindful of the still existing need ‘to found, restore, and replenish Unitarian churches’.”

He loved to recall his association with the College from its early days, and continually rejoiced in its development as a training school for the ministry. In 1907, he presented to the College a copy of the fine portrait of his father by George Patten, A.R.A., painted by J. Binney Gibbs. It was accompanied by a letter, in which he brought to mind memories of John Rely Beard and the earliest days of the College.

“I was at the receptive age of boyhood when the College was established in 1854. . . . The earlier students received instruction in my father’s library ; they taught in the Sunday School at Bridge Street ; they formed part of our family circle at Christmas and New Year, and my sister and I were constant guests at the annual *soirée* held by them in the room at Marsden Street. . . . My departure to India loosened the ties which bound me to the institution, but as soon after my return as my means permitted, I became a subscriber to its Funds. In 1885, I joined the Committee, and I have endeavoured to further its interests to the best of my ability. . . .”

The claims of Unitarian societies and organisations by no means

monopolised the interest of James Beard. He was the founder of the Collyhurst Recreation Rooms, which, as Clubs for Boys and Girls from 1885 to 1890, had been housed in the buildings of the Domestic Mission, and in 1890 acquired their own premises. He was Hon. Treasurer, 1890-1907, and took a particular interest in the Girls' Club. In 1889, he addressed a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* appealing for funds. The Club, which had opened with 40 members, then numbered 150 members. The beneficent work of this institution in one of Manchester's slums is still largely under the direction of the members of his family, though it has never been sectarian in character. "Love and Friendship", as the animating spirit in the work, was the ideal Beard set before himself, and the atmosphere of his own home became more and more that of Collyhurst.

Beard was a manager of Nicholls Hospital for many years, and took a deep interest in the Warehousemen and Clerks' Orphan School. He was a member of the Half-Holiday Celebration Committee, 1868, which handed over to the Schools £4,300 in donations and subscriptions to celebrate the granting of Saturday afternoon as a half-holiday in warehouses. Previously, Saturday had been one of the busiest days of the week, and warehouses were often kept open until late on Saturday night. He served the Blackley Reformatory as Treasurer, 1890-9, and as Chairman of Governors, 1899. He was largely responsible for the purchase of the Fylde Farm School, of which he laid the foundation stone, 16 July, 1904.

On 8 January, 1889, he was elected a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and, as a Freemason, filled the most important offices in his Lodge and Province. In politics, a stout Liberal, he was actively associated with the local associations, was a member of the Reform Club from 1870, Treasurer, 1892, and Vice-President, 1893. He acted as Chairman of the Overseers of the Township of Chorlton, a position he resigned in 1889, and was made a Justice of Peace for the City of Manchester, 31 July, 1886.

Like other members of the family, Beard could wield a pen. He was one of two laymen (the other was Richard Bartram the editor) who contributed to the volume of Essays, published in 1891, under the title of *Religion and Life*. Amongst the contributors were James Drummond, Charles Barnes Upton, Philip Henry Wicksteed, and Lawrence P. Jacks. Beard wrote on "Religion and Trade".

His Presidential Address to the Provincial Assembly at Bolton,

16 June, 1893, was separately published. In it, he gave an excellent sketch of the history of the ancient Assembly, concluding with a reference to the fact that twice during the nineteenth century ministers, who had abandoned Unitarianism, had been allowed to remain members of the Assembly. "We have affirmed absolute freedom in opinion, not as an article of faith, but as the distinctive principle of our ecclesiastical polity."

In July-August, 1893, he was on holiday in Ireland, and contributed to the *Manchester City News* a series of four articles, entitled, "Sketches from the West Coast of Ireland". Running through the lively descriptions of Irish habits, customs, and humour, there is the quieter vein of the nature-lover and the lover of his kind.

James Beard had a gift for verse, and in 1907 published a volume of poems, *Secret Fancies of a Business Man*, dedicated to "George Milner, J.P., Honorary Freeman of the City of Manchester, my highly esteemed friend and colleague". The motto of the book, taken from George Macdonald, his father's old friend, justifies its title thus :

"For no outcome of a man's nature is so like himself as his imaginations, except it be his fancies indeed. Perhaps his imaginations show what he is meant to be, his fancies what he is making of himself."

Several of the poems are addressed to relatives and friends, two celebrating the charms of Cheshire, the county of his adoption, reveal his love of nature, and especially his fondness for flowers. The note of joyousness throughout is tempered only by the sense of the overruling Providence of God.

From 1899 to 1908, Beard wintered in the Riviera for reasons of health, and from 1908, in Torquay, where he interested himself in the Unitarian congregation there. Appealing for a new building, 14 January, 1911, he said :

"My acquaintance with Unitarianism in Torquay dates from 1898. The services then, as now, were held in a plain, gaunt room, part of a building used as a hotel, to which access is gained by a long funnel-like passage conducting the air of the street to a stove which, in vain, attempts to warm the place. . . . To sit in a room with one draught cooling your ankles and another at the back of your neck, whilst the voice of the preacher contends with the voices of ostlers in an adjoining yard, does not lead to edification. . . . The Torquay Unitarians have not the means to provide a building worthy of their cause. Cannot they be helped?"

Next year the new church was erected.

When the Great War broke out, one of his daughters was in Germany, and a letter to her, written from Knutsford, dated "August 1st, 1914", was not received until 15 November, 1919. It depicts the situation as he saw it.

"Your letter, speaking of the general opinion with you that Germany would not be driven into war, has been contradicted by the latest news, and in England, everyone is full of excitement; as rumours and newspaper comment foretell a general conflagration. All the Stock Exchanges of Europe are closed, and while the prices of flour, bacon, cheese, &c. are advanced from 10% to 50%, the prices of securities are reduced enormously. We have large quantities of cotton goods thrown on our hands, as the customers say they cannot pay for them, and the rates of insurance against war are so high that merchants cannot ship goods. . . . I should be very glad to hear that you were intending to return home. . . . I trust England may not be drawn in. Of course, the Services & Society are calling upon us to back up Russia, and maintain the 'Balance of Power'. But Liberals in every direction are calling upon the Government to maintain a strict neutrality. I have just received a circular from the Wesleyan, Congregationalist and Unitarian ministers, calling a meeting in the Wesleyan Church to-night to pass resolutions to send up to the Government to that effect. . . ."

Happily the traveller returned safely.

A pleasant picture of Beard and his wife after the War is afforded by an American gentleman, who, with his wife, stayed at Torquay during their visit to England. Writing after the death of Mrs. Beard from "Needham, Mass.", 1 August, 1919, he recalled the happy pair :

"I shall always recall with pleasure his fondness of her, shown in so many ways, and our great enjoyment of the hospitality of both in their rooms at the 'Victoria and Albert'. Our first and only English Christmas is a most gracious memory to us through their efforts to make it beautiful and joyous. We thought your father an almost typical Father Christmas, with his silver hair, the ruddy glow of his cheeks, and his ever-genial countenance. And when we had dined with them, we went to their rooms, where your father recited old English selections for us and sang, and your mother joined in the merriment in her more quiet way. . . . My walks and talks with your father made a large part of the joy of that winter, and the contact with both your parents put sweetness into that visit to Torquay. . . . I recall his enjoyment of worship at the chapel, and my enjoyment of his singing there. I have never been able to think of them as completely happy since he went without your mother, and now it is a real comfort to think of them as *together*."

James Rait Beard died at Torquay, 4 March, 1917, leaving a son and two daughters. It was fitting that a portrait of him should be presented by his daughters to the Unitarian College, for which he laboured so long and so successfully and to which he bequeathed a legacy of £500.

SIR LEWIS BEARD

(12 April, 1858—17 April, 1933)

LEWIS BEARD, third child and only son of Charles Beard, was born at the Parsonage, Gee Cross, Hyde, 12 April, 1858.

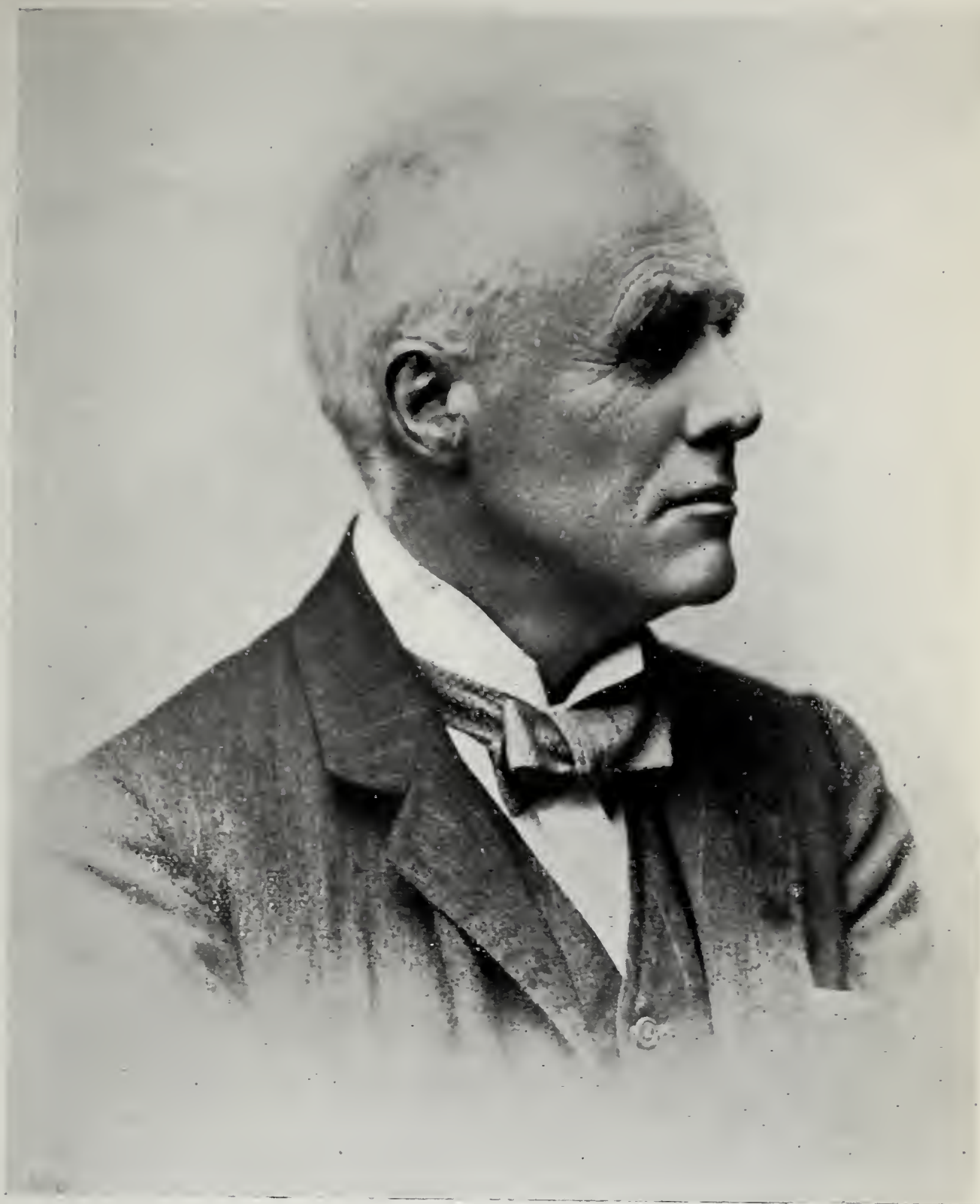
As a boy, he had a severe illness, shortly after his father's appointment to the ministry of Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool, whilst the family were on holiday at Keswick. Writing, 22 January, 1867, his father said :

“ We have had a sad time of it here. Lewis has been very dangerously ill with inflammatory fever, threatening the brain. Last Sunday week, we had very little hope of saving him, but at the moment of crisis, by God's mercy, a favourable change took place, and he is now recovering nicely. To-day, he has been up for an hour or two for the first time. . . . Our only comfort has been Mr. Pearson's ¹ great skill and kindness. Lewis, I am quite convinced, owes his life to him. You may fancy our distress and discomfort at having all this in lodgings.”

On his father's removal to Liverpool, March, 1867, Lewis Beard began his education at a school there kept by the Rev. John Brunner, son of a Lutheran clergyman in Switzerland, and father of Sir John Brunner, Bart., M.P. John Brunner, who had become a Unitarian, on settling in Everton opened a school on the system of Pestalozzi, to which resorted many of the sons of leading Unitarians throughout the country. Sir John Brunner, who was educated entirely at the school, once referred to his father as “ a man of great scholastic attainments and saintly character, a born teacher and yet ever a student ”, adding, “ I met five of his pupils when I entered the House of Commons ”.

In 1870, Lewis Beard entered the Royal Institution School, Liverpool—an excellent school which was discontinued at the end of last century—and studied under Dr. Dawson Turner and the Rev. Henry Isaac Johnson. Here he quickly made his mark. In 1875, he was head boy, and in October won the Tate Scholarship

¹ Surgeon, and uncle by marriage of Lewis Beard.



SIR LEWIS BEARD

of £20 for two years under highly creditable circumstances, as he was too young to hold it, so that it passed to an older boy who went to Oxford. In October, 1876, Beard went to Trinity College, Cambridge, with the Tate Scholarship and a minor scholarship, and read for the Mathematical Tripos. His father, writing on Christmas Day, 1876, said :

“ Lewis has been one Term at Cambridge. He has £75 a year for three years in scholarships, and is well and happy. Hitherto he has been in lodgings, but now has had rooms allotted to him in College, upon which he enters after Christmas.”

Lewis Beard was not indifferent to the usual sports of undergraduates, but his particular fondness was for rowing, and he won a place in the Trinity College eight.

Writing, 5 April, 1878, Charles Beard said :

“ Lewis came home from Cambridge for Easter on Wednesday, and goes back on Easter Monday to be examined for a foundation scholarship at Trinity. If he is successful, he will be promoted from £75 a year for three years to £150 a year for five years.”

The scholarship was won, and Lewis Beard became a Scholar of Trinity. Naturally, the coming of age of an only son, with six sisters, was no small event in the family, and was duly honoured with a dinner.

In 1881, college days ended, when Lewis Beard was 15th Wrangler. On leaving College, he entered the Inner Temple, and read for the Bar in the chambers of Lindsey M. Aspland, LL.D., Q.C., son of the Rev. Robert Brook Aspland (1805-69), one-time friend and neighbour of his father in the ministry at Dukinfield.

Called to the Bar in 1882, with chambers in Liverpool, he entered upon practice in the Northern Circuit. Like his father and grandfather, he found it difficult to resist the temptations of journalism, and whilst pleading in the courts, he contributed regularly to the *Liverpool Daily Post*, then edited by Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward and later Lord) Russell, another of his father's friends, and contributor to the *Theological Review*. Beard wrote anonymously occasional leading articles, and was regarded as a special authority on Naval finance and statistics. The distinguished editor always entertained the highest opinion of his work. Philanthropy, too, had its attractions for Lewis Beard, as became the son of Charles Beard and the grandson of John Relly Beard. During his residence in Liverpool, he was Honorary Secretary of the Kyrle Society, a

society founded in London (1875) by Miss Miranda Hill, whose object was to cheer the lives of the poor. At Liverpool he assisted in the organisation of entertainments for street urchins. One of his coadjutors, Mr. James Welch, then an accountant, afterwards went on the stage, and made for himself a considerable reputation.

In 1889, Lewis Beard fulfilled a pious but melancholy task in compiling the index to his father's posthumously published work on Martin Luther.

On 5 April, 1890, he married an American lady, Charlotte Edings, daughter of Joseph D. Edings, a planter of St. Helena Island, Charleston, S. Carolina. After the Civil War, Miss Edings, as a child, had been brought to England and adopted by Mr. and Mrs. William Niell, of London.

In the year of his marriage, Beard was appointed Assistant Town Clerk at Coventry. On leaving Liverpool, he received letters of appreciation from the editor of the *Daily Post*, and a parting gift from his brethren at the Bar.

To enable him to grapple successfully with the duties of his new office, he abandoned his qualifications as a barrister, and sat for the Solicitors' final examination, becoming in due course a Solicitor of the Supreme Court. He never regretted leaving the Bar, being convinced that by so doing, he saved himself from turning cynic, and, as he said, "Success would have been failure at that price." After a couple of years as Assistant, he succeeded Mr. Thomas Browett as Town Clerk of Coventry. In this office, he served for eleven years. During that period, the town increased in population from 54,700 to 180,000, and in acreage from 3,126 to 20,000—the two chief boundary extensions in 1899 involving a dispute in which the skill, tact, and wisdom of the Town Clerk were conspicuous. A striking development, for which he was largely responsible, was the establishment of a central rate collecting office, said to be one of the first in the country, and another important development was the first issue of Corporation Stock by the Coventry Corporation.

Lewis Beard was a painstaking as well as a brilliant public servant, and gave to Coventry, when he left there, twenty to thirty quarto note-books, containing summaries of Acts of Parliament, legal cases and the like. On his resignation from office to take up duties at Blackburn, the Council by resolution put on record that

"His capacity and sound judgment has been manifested in safeguarding the city from legal dangers ; his method for the conducting

of public business has largely contributed to the dignity and efficiency with which municipal government has been carried on during his period of office ”.

To this tribute, the Mayor added :

“ He is an exceptionally strong man. . . . When he did not know, he told everyone so. Like one of W. S. Gilbert’s characters,

In very sooth
His love of truth,
Was almost a disease.”

Another member of the Council testified to his worth as a citizen, “ ever willing to help in anything he could ”. Amongst other philanthropic societies with which he was connected, were the Police Court Mission and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

In 1904, he was appointed Town Clerk of Blackburn in succession to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert E. Fox, another son of a Unitarian minister, the Rev. George Fox (1834–1916), an old pupil at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board under his grandfather, John Relly Beard. At Blackburn, Beard made a great reputation for efficiency, and, in fact, if not in name, was at the head of its municipal enterprises, a position he gained only when, in the interests of good government, he asserted his authority against the caucus which for long had been in virtual charge of the town.

When the Mental Deficiency Bill was before Parliament in 1912, and he had been “ asked to look into the financial aspects of it as it affected local authorities ”, it was characteristic of him to correspond with his cousin Mary Dendy on the subject and obtain first-hand information, exact and authoritative.

In the Association of Municipal Corporations, he was a leading figure, and seldom was important business transacted at its Annual Meetings in which he did not take a hand. On the numerous occasions on which he gave evidence regarding municipal matters before public bodies, he could boast that he was never once subjected to cross-examination.

When the Government appointed a Commission on Local Taxation, under the chairmanship of Sir John Arrow Kempe, Controller and Auditor-General, Beard was appointed a member. As the London County Council was unrepresented on the Committee, the matter was raised in the House of Commons, when Mr. Lloyd

George in reply said : " All I know about the members of the Commission is that they are very able men, who have had great experience in local government. There is, for instance, the Town Clerk of Blackburn, an exceedingly able man ". On the findings of this Commission, which are still regarded as authoritative, the Budget of 1914 was largely framed. Sir John Arrow Kempe, in his *Reminiscences of a Civil Servant*, pays tribute to Beard : " For much of the completeness of the Report, we were greatly indebted to Mr. (now Sir) Lewis Beard, Town Clerk of Blackburn."

In July, 1913, Beard was presented to the King and Queen on their visit to Blackburn.

During the War, he was Clerk of the local Military Tribunal, Overseer of Fuel and Lighting, and Honorary Secretary of the War Pensions Committee, the War Relief Committee, and the Food Control Committee. He also filled the positions of Clerk of the Peace for the Borough, and Clerk to the Blackburn Education Committee. In education he counted for much. The Editor of the *Blackburn Times*, a shrewd judge, once said : " Sir Lewis Beard is the strongest educational force Blackburn ever had, or ever will have."

In 1919, Lewis Beard was knighted " for public and local services ". His advice was frequently sought by the officials of the Local Government Board, and an eminent public servant, then serving under Dr. Addison, admitted that they went to him for advice in everything.

In 1923, Beard was appointed a member of the Royal Committee " to enquire into, report, and make recommendations upon the principles which should govern the erection of County Boroughs, and the absorption of other bodies when extensions of boundaries of towns are in question ". The Committee sat for seven years, and one of the recommendations defined the population (75,000) required for recognition as a County Borough. He was also a member of the National Industrial Council for the Non-trading Services of Local Authorities.

As the representative of the Liverpool University, of which his father was virtually one of the founders, he was from 1913 to his death a Governor of the Blackburn Girls' High School, where his daughter was a pupil. To the Form libraries he presented many books, and lent others for the use of the Sixth Form. For twenty years, he was a member of the Governing Body of the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded, of which his cousin, Mary Dendy, was Chairman, and " rendered

valuable help to the Society's propaganda and to its practical and effective exposition at Sandlebridge ”.

Though never forsaking the faith of his father, Lewis Beard was little of a churchgoer, and shared his father's dislike of the Unitarian name. At Coventry, he was a Trustee of the Baker Billing Charity, whose beneficiaries attended the Great Meeting House, the scene of the one-time labours of his father's friend, the Rev. John Gordon. For some years he was a Trustee of the Tate Scholarship in connection with the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, resigning the position in 1891. Of Manchester College, Oxford, he was a supporter until his death. At a Special Meeting of its Trustees, called 29 November, 1904, to discuss a resolution confining the benefits of the College to Nonconformists, he spoke in opposition, incidentally observing in reference to Counsel's opinion: “ If we are only to take the opinion of lawyers who have not lost their cases, we are confined to the briefless brigade ”. He closed his speech with an allusion to his father :

“ I was taught to know and to reverence Manchester College by one who worked for it, was a student of it, and was connected with it and loved it all his life. I was taught that Manchester College stood for absolute freedom, for the pursuit of truth, no matter to what destination it might lead, and it was to that College I was told to give my support. If this resolution is passed, Manchester College will no longer be the College which my teacher admired and loved and served, but something different.”

The resolution was defeated.

It is probably not assuming too much to trace in Lewis Beard's love of veracity and freedom, as in his philanthropy and educational zeal, the influence of his father and the religious training of his home and church.

At Coventry, he was much given to cycling, and found in expeditions into the country a pleasant diversion from onerous legal duties. At Blackburn, he turned tramp, and scoured the moors and fells round the town, often setting forth from a cottage which he had on Longridge Fells. Fond of fresh air, even in mid-winter the windows of his office in Coventry were open, often to the discomfort of his subordinates engaged in taking down his words as he paced the floor. As curtains were seldom drawn, he could frequently be seen, when reading or meditating, lying on his back in his desk chair, with his legs resting on the mantelpiece. When he sallied forth on a tramp, he seldom wore an overcoat, but when

the weather was wet, had a check-patterned mackintosh or ulster, which, tradition said, had come down to him as a legacy. A lover of children and animals, he could never pass one without a cheerful word of greeting. To the outer world a Stoic, he never complained of the ill strokes of fortune, and only his most intimate friends were aware of his sensitiveness to them. Grave and dignified in demeanour, he could enjoy a jest, though he had little appreciation of public entertainments. It is said that he once saw "Iolanthe", when his only comment was on the whimsicalities of the Lord Chancellor, which, he said, "were bad law". A lover of the classics from early days, and gifted with an excellent memory, he could quote at length from Horace or Homer. Of English writers, Dickens was a great favourite, especially *Pickwick*, but amongst novelists Scott came first in his esteem. He was particularly fond of reading aloud to his wife, and was a discriminating critic of what he read. In a letter, written 9 July, 1921, from "Edisto, East Park Road, Blackburn", he discusses Conrad's *Rescue* :

"At last we return *Rescue*. We have kept it a long time. The fact is we very injudiciously decided to read it aloud, and it hardly lends itself to that method. Then I have had many visits to make to London—once a week for the last five—and we were away a few days on the moors ; altogether the book has hardly had a fair chance. Sometimes, when there had been a break of several days, we read a good deal over again, and only found out by chance !

It is a wonderful piece of writing and character drawing, but it's ridiculous to suppose such people as Lingard and Mrs. Travers are English. They are Poles, and one begins, as one reads this and other books of Conrad, to sympathise with the matter-of-fact eighteenth century, which suppressed them, and to understand why the Germans can't get on with them. . . ."

Beard was a man of infinite resource. He used to tell the story of a Mayor, who had dined "not wisely but too well", whom he conducted to his robing-room, and locked in, apologising at the ceremony which followed for his absence through indisposition.

In a letter, 14 December, 1929, he refers to the loss of a friend, to his work, and his impending retirement.

To-day has brought the news of Ernest Steinthal's death, which stirs up all manner of memories. We were good friends for many years, but never got very close to each other. . . . The Royal Commission on Local Government has published its seven years work, and the Chairman (Lord Onslow) and the Minister of Health have written very pleasant letters of thanks and appreciation. The

next thing is the transfer of the Poor Law, and I have promised to see Blackburn through that. That takes me till April, and what will happen to me then, I don't know. . . .

A year later, 28 December, 1930, he tells how, when the Commission was over, he and his wife

“took a trip down the Adriatic, which was very interesting, and washed away most of the cobwebs, but not quite all. When I got back, I found a great change in the Council, and the new Pharaoh knew not Joseph, who had no resource but to resign. There is no pension or retiring allowance, but I do not think we shall starve. I am still on the Board, who have now a sub-committee of which I am Chairman to act under the Mental Treatment Act. . . . I am getting some work here in connection with Education, and shall be able to fill up my time pretty well. . . . I have this house on my hands, so we shall stay here. . . .”

When Sir Lewis Beard resigned the Town Clerkship of Blackburn in 1930, he had completed twenty-six years of service, a record in length since the town received its charter in 1851.

A legal correspondent writing “An Appreciation” in the *Manchester Guardian*, 6 August, 1930, said :

“Sir Lewis Beard has for some time past been the outstanding local administrator in municipal quarters, and for many years no important problem has arisen and no important change or development of policy or legislation has been made in the municipal world in which he has not taken his part and largely influenced the decision.

Fortunate indeed has Blackburn been in having such a Town Clerk, and public-spirited and far-seeing has its Town Council shown itself in enabling and encouraging him to give to the country as a whole the benefit of his unrivalled experience, judgment, and wisdom.

For many years he shared with Sir Robert Fox, of Leeds (another gift of Blackburn's), and afterwards as Chairman of the Law Committee of the Municipal Corporations Association, the onerous duties of principal spokesman of the municipalities before Prime Ministers, Cabinet Ministers, and heads of Government Departments, and before Royal Commissions and departmental Committees. No living man could more fitly and ably have discharged that task.

A man of many parts, a master of lucid exposition, a man of vision, with a great fund of anecdote and humour, he made—and keeps—many friends, who, proud of their friendship and grateful for it and for his unvarying courtesy and help, wish him every happiness in his well-deserved leisure and retirement.”

Sir Lewis Beard died 17 April, 1933, and was cremated in Manchester, the service being conducted by the Rev. C. W. Townsend,

minister of Cross Street Chapel. Two days later, a public memorial service was held in the Blackburn Cathedral, conducted by Provost John Sinker, and attended by the Mayor and Corporation and representatives of various public bodies.

He left a widow, two sons and one daughter.



MARY SHIPMAN BEARD

MARY SHIPMAN BEARD

(12 November, 1861—2 November, 1926)

MARY SHIPMAN BEARD, the fourth daughter of Charles and Mary Ellen Beard, was born, 12 November, 1861, at The Parsonage, Gee Cross, Hyde.

Her education, begun at home, was continued at a private school kept by a French lady, Mademoiselle Delahaye, in Liverpool, where her father removed in 1867. It was completed with private tuition by Mr. Meade, Assistant Master at Merchant Taylors' School, Blundellsands.

Her early ambition was to give herself to nursing, but this profession being closed to her by delicate health, in the autumn of 1887 she went to Oxford as companion to Mrs. Albert Dicey, and entered a household where, in later years, she was always a welcome visitor. An even deeper and more enduring friendship was contracted during 1887 with Mrs. Arthur Sidgwick and her family whilst on holiday at Alassio.

In the autumn of 1888, she was appointed assistant secretary to the Oxford University Delegacy, of which Mr. (afterwards Sir) Michael Sadler was secretary, and Mary Beard became the trusted friend and wise counsellor of many hundreds of students who came up to Oxford for the summer meetings. Her gifts as an organiser were only equalled by her fine tact and friendly disposition in her relations with others.

She took up her residence as a paying guest in the family of Professor Alexander Henry Green, F.R.S. (1832–96), a friend and former teacher of the Rev. Charles Hargrove, who had recently been appointed to the chair of Geology. Mrs. Green was the sister of the Rev. Richard Acland Armstrong of Liverpool. From 1892, when her mother and sisters removed to Oxford, Mary Beard lived with them.

During these years in Oxford, her friendship with the Sidgwicks ripened into intimacy, and Mary Beard became a gracious and formative influence in the lives of Mrs. Sidgwick and her three daughters. Mrs. Sidgwick had written verses to her in English and

Italian whilst in Italy, and, nearly thirty years later, Miss Ethel Sidgwick embodied some of her traits in the sketch of one of the characters in her novel *Hatchways*, published in 1916. What the Sidgwicks owed to Mary Beard is admirably expressed in the words of Miss Sidgwick :

“ What did we not learn from her ? She was just the age to teach easily, a dozen years ahead of us, and as ready to play as to work. She loved our games, especially when my father invented them, helped our dancing, was the self-effacing manager of our acting. She nursed us. . . . She read with us, poetry, the sociology of Ruskin and Tolstoi, the history of religion—more with my sister, whose tastes at fourteen or so, fell in with hers. To say that she was the first to show us the grandeur of the Christian ideal would not be true ; but she was the first expounder to us of the fighting side of faith, the work of the reformers. I can hear her saying, over the pages of a book she lent my sister, with a shy laugh, ‘ *I am a heretic* ’. We teased her, but took it to heart. All the Christian paths she pointed out to us, enlightened and fired us with her own fervour. My mother, a Churchwoman, left us all to her, including little Hugh the baby, in the happiest serenity. I think she was learning herself. . . . Some were astonished that this shy girl should so have influenced her, as to take her to worship, for years, at Manchester College Chapel. It was her remorseless standards which made Mary depreciate herself. She was like a conventional girl, embarking on an untried world, when she came into Oxford society. But shy and diffident, the standard, in least and greatest matters, was always there. She broke into controversy if it was challenged.

Politically, she agreed with my mother, Michael Sadler, and Graham Wallas, her friends ; and shared my mother’s passionate interest in oppressed peoples. The exile Russians and Armenians of those days were among the acquaintances she made during the time of her Extension work. In this work, having a hero-worship for Sadler, she was very happy indeed.

Her standard in handiwork was the same, clear and thorough as her mental training, and yet individual. Looking back, there is hardly a craft, from doing a parcel, to arranging a delicate panel of pressed flowers and ferns, where her handwork did not inspire me—does not inspire me still. She taught us technique ; how to consider, how to attack, how to handle, and how to finish, and leave—no matter what. It was art really. All her ways were best ways, we children firmly believed.

She taught us cooking ; every branch of housecraft, when she ran a small cottage for us one holiday in Surrey. She showed (though failed to teach us) accounts. . . . But all her arts seemed to culminate, for me, in her delight in flowers. Her eye was alert for small treasures on our holiday walks, which, like the accounts, she would

classify before she slept. We still have a wreath of her pressed Swiss flowers. 'Mademoiselle a un goût parfait pour arranger les fleurs,' said the hard-worked hostess of our Champéry pension in 1900, having allowed Mary to decorate the whole length of the table-d'hôte."

On 21 May, 1897, the Delegacy accepted the resignation of Mary S. Beard, as from 26 June, and the Secretary was instructed to convey to her the following resolution :

"The Delegates, while congratulating Miss Beard on her well-deserved promotion to a post in the Education Department, desire to express in the strongest terms their regret at the loss of the services of one who has been so intimately associated with the work of the Delegacy during a period of nearly nine years, and to tender to her their warmest thanks for her unwearied devotion to the interests of the Delegacy and her eminent services in the promotion and organising of its work."

The post to which reference is made in the resolution was in the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in the Board of Education, London, of which Sir Michael Sadler was chief. Here she took the principal part in the arrangement, cataloguing and extension of the Library, formerly housed in South Kensington ; she prepared material for the reports, and also assisted in the selection of teachers for South Africa during the later stages of the Boer War. She had inherited a love of books from her father, and their ordering, arrangement and classification was to her a work of sheer delight.

Miss Sidgwick was "under her for a month or two".

"Two things", she says, "emerge in my recollection of her working life ; one being her circumspection before an important interview, how she prepared her forces so that nothing the least apposite should slip—good generalship ; the other is, how she never failed, as organiser or educator, to let others know their faults at need, and how few resented it."

Much of her work in the Office escaped recognition, since, by its nature, it was taken up into that of others, but it was highly appreciated by Sir Michael Sadler, who speaks of her excellent judgment, historical accuracy, sense of duty, unworldliness, and attention to detail. In his notice of her in the *Manchester Guardian*, after her death, he described her as "one of those who during years of critical change have given without stint their best powers of heart and mind to the cause of education".

In 1901, after a visit of inspection to Paris, she contributed to

the series of Special Reports on educational subjects, edited by Sir Michael Sadler, an account of the Écoles Maternelles of Paris. After a brief sketch of the history of the institutions, and a description of the buildings, apparatus, staff and work, the Écoles Maternelles of Paris are compared with the infant schools of London. Much later, in the last work to which she gave her life, the establishment of Nursery Schools in England, this article and the knowledge which inspired it were to bear rich fruit.

Miss Elizabeth Green, her Oxford friend who lived with her in London, and from April, 1898, was a clerk in the Office of Special Inquiries, says :

“ She lived as fully as anyone I have ever known. Her energies were tireless. When the office work was done, her evenings were spent in writing letters or in outside social work. She often attended courses at the School of Economics. She was a manager of a large girls’ elementary school, and took a great interest in its work. Amongst other activities, she started the ‘ Flower Fund ’, a little society by means of which country schools were put into touch with London schools, and sent up boxes of wild flowers once a fortnight to the town children. . . . I owe to her most of the interests which have served to bring happiness into my life. She opened my eyes to what is beautiful in literature and art, and her example taught me later on to look round and try to do something for those less fortunate than myself. She also taught me to be fair and just, and not to be carried away by feeling. She had a singularly well-balanced mind. She loved music and pictures and plays, and often spent her summer holidays in Switzerland, enjoying the scenery and walks.”

Mary Beard was the first woman to be put on the Civil List under the Board of Education.

“ After her retirement from the services of the Board ”, says Sir Michael Sadler, “ she gave valuable assistance in inquiries made for local authorities, into the conditions and needs of secondary education in Liverpool, Birkenhead, Hampshire, Derbyshire, Exeter, and Essex.”

In 1907, Mary Beard was appointed Head Mistress of the Ladybarn School, Manchester. It was a co-educational school founded by W. H. Herford,¹ an old pupil in her grandfather’s school, and was subsequently carried on by his daughter, Miss Caroline Herford, whose appointment on the staff of the Manchester University had created the vacancy. In 1904, the School had been formed into a limited liability company, with Mr. C. P. Scott, editor of the

¹ See p. 7.

Manchester Guardian, as Chairman. In 1909, under Mary Beard's influence, the School was extended by the provision of new classrooms, and more suitably equipped for its purpose.

She interested her children in the Sandlebridge Colony for Feeble-Minded Children, and, 6 October, 1908, introduced her cousin, Mary Dendy, "to talk to the little ones, who were to work for the children at Sandlebridge". In a letter to her, 17 March, 1910, she said, with characteristic modesty, "I don't wonder you care so much about the work, and I do admire (if you don't mind my saying so) the people who give themselves to it. I know I should not have the courage myself."

Mary Beard was intimately connected with the "Enquiry into the methods and results of Moral Training in Schools", of which the Inaugural Meeting was held, 5 February, 1909, with James (afterwards Viscount) Bryce in the Chair. Professor Sadler was secretary, and the Committee amongst others included, besides Mary Beard, the Bishops of Hereford and Ripon, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter and W. T. Stead. She also assisted Professor Sadler, one of the secretaries of the Educational Settlement Committee, in the preparation of its Report, *Towards Educational Peace*, a Plan of Re-Settlement in English Elementary Education, adopted 3 December, 1909, and published in the following year. The Executive Committee included representatives of Education and various Protestant churches, including Unitarians. Opposed by the Secular Education League and similar bodies, and left severely alone by Roman Catholics, nothing came of it.

In the autumn of 1912, Mary Beard spent a holiday in Italy—Milan, Perugia, Assisi. "It was in some sort a pilgrimage", for she was possessed with an enthusiasm for St. Francis, and at Ladybarn had a motto in the bathrooms from his "Song of the Creatures", celebrating the praise of "Water, Humble, and precious and Chaste".

Members of the school staff recall "her excellent judgment, her accuracy and care, even in trifles, her boundless energy, and her exquisite needlework". Her meetings of staff were characterised by kindness. "The youngest members were expected to express their opinions without reserve."

Withal, Mary Beard was not altogether happy in the work for more reasons than one. An excessively modest opinion of her own abilities and too high an estimate of the value of university degrees led her to suppose that her lack of academical honours was against

the interests of the school, and, when the Great War broke out, the fact " that she was moulding the children day and night who would really make a world safe for peace, was not enough for her ". She felt the call to serve her country abroad, and resigned in 1915. Her resignation, it was recorded, was

" deeply regretted by the Council of the School. She brought to its service a breadth of interest and of intellectual outlook, combined with a sympathetic understanding and love of young children, which was bound to secure the affection and confidence of her pupils, and to leave a permanent mark upon the School."

During her residence in Manchester, Mary Beard was a member of Platt Chapel, of which the Rev. C. T. Poynting, B.A., and the Rev. W. Whitaker, B.A., were successively ministers. She was connected with the Rosamund Day Nursery, and took an active part in the Collyhurst Recreation Rooms, especially in the foundation of the Nursery School, to which children were sent by the Medical Officer at the Collyhurst Welfare Centre. Opened in 1914, " as a piece of war work, it was closed at the end of the war for want of accommodation ". It was pioneer work of inestimable value, and happily this did not mark the end of the effort. After her return from France, Mary Beard became Chairman of the " Children's Committee " responsible for the work.

She went to France in 1916 with the Friends. Though not a pacifist, she was tolerant of pacifism and quite at home with Friends. She was stationed at Chalôns-sur-Marne in the Maternity Hospital. Here she started a boot-club for refugees, after the manner of that at Collyhurst. The work of the Friends in France and elsewhere is vividly described by Miss A. Ruth Fry in *A Quaker Adventure*, published in 1926, with an Introduction by Viscount Cecil. Mary Beard's name is included in the Appendix giving the " List of Workers ".

" Except for a few months in 1915 when the supply was diminished from natural causes, mothers and babies poured in, in a ceaseless and ever-increasing stream. Despite all the difficulties of equipment, and shortage of staff, the results were extraordinarily satisfactory . . . as the war went on, air-raids at Chalôns became more and more terrifying."

On her return to England, Mary Beard engaged in Red Cross work until the war ended, being chiefly employed in placing V.A.D.'s in posts. She then resumed her connection with the Collyhurst

Children's Committee, of which she became Chairman, and in a letter, 5 September, 1918, summed up what she thought necessary in order "to make the Nursery School without delay as efficient as possible", and undertook to interview "some of the Board of Education officials specially interested in Nursery Schools", with a view to getting as much general information and guidance as possible as to the best course to take "to promote its interests and secure assistance from the Board".

When she resigned in 1920 on migrating to the South of England, the Children's Committee expressed their great appreciation of her work. "Her tireless zeal and energy were the life and soul of the Committee."

In 1920, she joined Miss Meade at Baycliff House, Clevedon, a school for children of colonial and overseas civil servants. Whilst here she rendered much assistance to the "Save the Children Fund". Writing to her friend, Miss Sidgwick, 4 May, 1922, she said :

"... I wish I were young enough to go out. I know it's right policy, from one point of view, to take only the young ones, but who so suitable to go out and get killed off, if necessary, as we old ones, who, anyway, won't and can't have any hand in shaping the new world at home ! I know the answer is that it is not so much a case of dying as of breaking down and being a drag and a nuisance ; and I know it's quite true. I only wish it weren't. . . . The trees are only just getting green, and no May out, but the wild flowers are just perfect—cowslips, hyacinths and crocuses. I sent a dress-box full to a London school the other day. Next picking, I shall try to send you a few to make you smell the spring in your high-up little rooms."

Writing, 19 April, 1923, she says :

"I have about decided to leave here this summer, and then, after a holiday, go back to Manchester and have another go at Nursery School work. The little Nursery School we started up there in 1914, and which had to be closed for lack of suitable rooms, is reopening in a new open-air wooden building, and they have appealed to me to go back and be Chairman of their Committee, and it's a cry I can't resist. I was talking with my sister the other day about a proposed National School Association to link up the isolated, struggling schools, and fight the economy devil. It would immensely help these small associations if there were a strong 'Central Watch Committee' to back them, and bring a real force of public opinion to bear at the right time and place.

I think the *Déclaration de Genève* is excellent. French ought always to be used for such documents. It can say so much in small

space, and yet with such absolute clearness and comprehensive-ness. . . .”

She returned to Manchester in 1923. In that year, the Nursery School Association was founded, with Miss Margaret McMillan, President, Miss Grace Owen, Secretary, and Mrs. H. J. Eveleigh (Mary Beard's sister) as Chairman. Mary Beard was appointed Treasurer shortly afterwards. The third Annual Report of the Association, published after her death, said :

“ Her work for the Association was unflagging throughout the three and a half years of its existence. Her trained judgment and wise counsel have always been at its service, and no one has had a more important share in helping its growth. The cause that was nearest her heart was the right care and training of little children. She worked unceasingly in infant welfare centres, day nurseries and nursery schools.”

Under her guidance, the Collyhurst school continued to develop, and, in 1925, the Rosamund Day Nursery, as it was called, secured new premises at Thorncliffe Grove, Chorlton-on-Medlock. Mary Beard also became Chairman of the Salford Nursery School. In her old school at Withington, she retained her interest. She presented it with its War Memorial—a simple tablet in the play-room, designed by Mrs. G. F. Watts in cream-coloured terra-cotta, “ In Memory of the Old Boys who gave themselves in the War 1914–1918. Unveiled by Ian Hay in 1923.”

Miss Beard spent the Easter of 1926 in the country about Avignon with Miss Sidgwick and two of her former colleagues at Ladybarn School. She loved “ the fair land of France ”. Miss Sidgwick writes :

“ Les Baux, with its characteristic grey ruins and rocks, and tufts of sweet-smelling plants, inspired and delighted her. Seeing her there, walking about to the knees in rough wild herbage, I saw her as she used to be, young again, before the years of harassment and bereavement. When I heard the following November of her hopeless illness, so clearly the picture of her at Les Baux came back, that I noted it down in verse.”

Mary Beard died at Burton Avenue, Withington, 3 November, 1926, of pneumonia, after a short illness.

In June, 1928, an open-air shelter was erected to her memory in the playground of the Rosamund Day Nursery. On it an inscribed bronze and enamel tablet, unveiled by Canon Peter Green, 15 July, bears the following inscription : “ In Memory of

Miss M. S. Beard, Headmistress of Ladybarn House School, 1908-1915, and late Chairman of Rosamund Day Nursery. This shelter was erected by some of Miss Beard's old pupils and friends." In the same year, fourteen trees were planted, in her memory, by old pupils in the Nursery, at the end of the Playing Field.

For the Nursery School movement, her death was an almost irreparable loss. As a pioneer in education, she did great work, not least in the training and care of young children, but the woman was ever greater than her work.

"In sympathy, in power of affection, in grave gaiety of temper, she never ceased to be young. Compassion and judgment were finely balanced in her. Nothing ever clouded her friendships. She was brave, wise, self-forgetting, far-sighted. She thought of others, not of herself."

So wrote Sir Michael Sadler. His words are confirmed by all who knew her in any degree of intimacy. An artist to the finger-tips, everything she did was distinguished by a peculiar grace and finish. Winsome with the charm of true womanhood, with a well stored mind, and a warm heart, she left an indelible impression on all who were privileged to know her in Oxford, London, and Manchester; and, but that her diffidence, self-depreciation, and lofty standards of achievement somewhat overshadowed and partially paralysed effort, she might have left no less marked an influence on an even wider circle.

RECOLLECTIONS
BY
SARAH DENDY (*née*) BEARD

(18 January, 1831—4 November, 1922)

BEING AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT DICTATED IN 1912,
GIVING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE FAMILIES OF BEARD AND DENDY

My good friend and doctor suggests to me that I should lighten the tedium of a period of enforced idleness by committing to writing some recollections of my long life. I tell him that I have no memories worth recording, but he persists in his advice, and as I have been in the habit of obeying him, I suppose I must make the attempt. Perhaps my children and grandchildren may feel some interest in what I write.

To begin at the beginning, I was born on January the 18th, 1831, at a house in Camp Street, Lower Broughton. My first recollection is of being carried by two servants in a large bath from the house in Camp Street¹ to one in Great Cheetham Street, which my father had built for the accommodation of his large school. I don't think I can have been more than two years old, but I have a vivid impression of passing over a piece of waste ground which bordered the high wall of the playground. My next recollection is of skipping happily along by my father's side when taking his invariable early walk before breakfast. I can still see the part of Bury New Road on which we were walking. Great Cheetham Street then was only a very short double row of houses. Now it extends right to Cheetham Hill, I believe, over what in my youth was a waste of brick fields, which we did not care to cross after dark. At the other end, there was nothing between us and Great Clowes Street, and a little way beyond it were the grounds of a deserted mansion called The Priory. I don't know whether there had been a monastic establishment on that spot, but the building was only an ordinary large house with its broken windows and

¹ More correctly, Woodlands Terrace, Bury New Road.



SARAH BEARD WITH JAMES RAIT BEARD

crumbling walls, which looked very desolate. We used to like to play in the garden, and to gather the autumn crocuses which grew there in profusion. Later on, a Methodist chapel with two adjoining houses was built in Great Cheetham Street, and I remember how in the Chartist riots,¹ the rioters stopped the workmen from going on with the building. It was at the same time, I believe, that they attacked Sir Benjamin Heywood's house at Claremont and large houses in the neighbourhood of Manchester.

My father was minister of the Unitarian congregation meeting at a little chapel in "Dawson Croft", Greengate, Salford. He and my mother were both South Country people, whose parents were tradespeople at Portsmouth. My grandfather Beard, I never saw, but judging from his letters, he must have been a man of considerable culture and very deep religious feeling. I have seen a letter of his written to my father on the occasion of my birth, in which he laments that I was not called Mary instead of Sarah, and I heartily agree with him, for I have always disliked my Christian name. My father must have early shown marks of his great ability, for he attracted the notice of the Rev. Russell Scott, the great-grandfather² of Mr. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*, who helped him to prepare for College. He went as a student to Manchester College, York, with the intention of entering the Unitarian ministry. Among his fellow students were the Rev. Dr. Martineau, the Rev. W. Gaskell, Rev. Franklin Howorth, Rev. R. B. Aspland, and other prominent Unitarian ministers. I have heard many a story of his College days, and how the students used to be divided, into "saints" and "sinners". I think the "sinners" proved themselves in active life far the more useful and excellent members of society. The students used to go out to preach at village stations within reach of York and I often heard my father speak of going to Malton, a place I never heard of again until my grandson Ralph went there with a reading party this year.

My mother's father, Charles Barnes, was employed in the dock yard at Portsmouth, whence he had a comfortable pension in his latter days. He came to live with us at Manchester a good many years before he died, and we were all very fond of him. He was a dear old man of great natural refinement, though not highly educated.

¹ August, 1842, when the Riot Act was read four times in one day.

² Grandfather. C. P. Scott's father was Russell Scott, son of the Portsmouth minister.

He had been a Calvinist in his youth, and rejoiced greatly in having escaped from the bondage of that most terrible creed. He used to tell us stories of the French prisoners of war, who were confined at Portsmouth in the early years of the last century, and had picked up many French expressions from them, which came very quaintly from his lips. He was a handsome old man, and my son, Walter Barnes Dendy, named after him, somewhat resembles him. Sometimes, after sitting in his arm chair by the fire, he would break out with the verse of a hymn. One which I specially remember was as follows :

“ Time flies, man dies ;
Eternity’s at hand ;
But what is best, my rest
Is in Emanuel’s land ”.

My mother was very anxious to make him happy, and he was always cheerful, but I sometimes doubt whether he would not have enjoyed the leisure of his old age better amongst his old friends and familiar surroundings. But we all loved him dearly.

My mother was an extremely handsome woman, and kept her beauty till quite late in life. My husband used to tease me by saying that he did not know what my mother had done with her good looks, for she certainly had not given them to her daughters. And he was quite right, for I and the only sister who grew to womanhood were much more like our father. He was a handsome man, but then a man’s good looks don’t always suit a woman’s face. I have heard my mother say that when she came to live in Manchester, it was a great trouble to her that she could not keep her white dresses clean. I often wonder, especially when I read Jane Austen’s books, how the women of those days kept themselves warm, with the thin scanty clothing which they seem to have worn.

The congregation in Greengate was not a wealthy one, and we had no string of carriages at the chapel door, such as the *Guardian* describes at Cross Street, where many of the richest families in Manchester worshipped. But we had many thriving tradesmen amongst us, and, after a time, it was found possible and desirable to build a large new chapel in Bridge Street, just across the river. Alas ! just before the congregation moved into it, there came a split amongst them, and one section remained in the old chapel with my father as their minister, while the others moved into the new building, and chose a fresh pastor. But they were unable to keep up their cause for more than a few years, and then those who had

remained in the little old place made a great effort, bought the new building back from the seceders, and moved triumphantly into the larger building. I was much too young to understand the cause of the quarrel, but I remember the little old chapel very well, and our moving into the bigger one. It was a large building, with that abomination an underground schoolroom, where I spent many a Sunday in my youth, in the crowded, heavy atmosphere of a Sunday School, too numerous for its accommodation. We worked very hard on Sundays in our family :—Sunday School at half-past nine, service at half-past ten, then a mile walk home to dinner, back to school at half-past two, home to tea, and, unless we could find some plausible excuse, back to service at half-past six. As my father seldom preached for less than an hour, it was not so easy to help falling asleep, and so disgracing ourselves in the minister's pew. Sometimes, when I had the company of my future husband, I used to take down sandwiches and we lunched together in the vestry. I had a great affection for the building, where I spent many happy hours, for we had many entertainments and much social intercourse in that underground schoolroom, and I was married in the chapel, and I mourned sincerely when, a few years ago, it was sold and the congregation dispersed. We had a good many members in my youth, who became very prominent and useful men in Manchester. Among them, Abel Heywood, C. S. Grundy, and Ivie Mackie, who all filled the office of Mayor, and my lifelong friend, Harry Rawson, who, though he more than once declined the Mayoral dignity, was one of Manchester's most distinguished citizens.¹ Another member of my father's congregation was the father of Sir Henry Tate, the founder of the Tate Gallery. Mr. Tate² kept a grocer's shop in Strangeways, and, I imagine, little thought of the wealth and celebrity his son would attain to. My father never had a large income from the chapel, and, indeed, I believe, that for a good many years, while the congregation were struggling with difficulties, he did not receive any salary at all.³ He brought up and educated his large family by scholastic and literary work. In the days before the reconstruction of the Grammar School, his

¹ Ald. Harry Rawson (1820–1904), Governor of Owens College ; Chairman of Council, Ryland's Library ; Hon. Freeman of City of Manchester.

² A relative probably of Sir Henry Tate. His father was William Tate (1773–1836), minister, Dukinfield, 1799 ; Chorley, 1799–1836.

³ Not quite accurate, see p. 12.

school was the best and most flourishing in Manchester, and many of its leading citizens were educated by him¹ . . . A great many Jews were also among my father's pupils, put under his care, doubtless, because their religious opinions were sure to be respected by him. I remember how they used to bring us at Passover time presents of unleavened bread, which we then considered a dainty, but which now appears to me a most uninteresting article of food.

My father's pen was never quiet. Besides his sermons, which were of an appalling length, he wrote many educational and other works, and did a great deal for Cassell's in their early days. Looking back, it is a marvel to me how he ever got through all that he did, for he did a great deal of the actual teaching in the school himself, though he had several masters for foreign languages and other subjects.

I was the third child and the first daughter of my parents, and, to the end of his life, I was always my father's darling. He always took the warmest interest in my husband and children. I often think with regret that he did not live to see the honourable positions which his grandchildren achieved for themselves. After me in the family came three boys, who all died quite young. I recollect what a sad time my mother had with them, but of them personally I have very little remembrance. Then came two girls, one of whom also died young. Then a boy, and then a girl who also passed away in early girlhood. So that, out of ten children, five did not live to grow up. Now I can see that the conditions of our life were not such as to make this result surprising. Very little was known or thought about hygiene in my early days, and sanitary arrangements were of a very imperfect kind. Neither in the very large house in Great Cheetham Street, nor in the smaller one to which we removed after my father sold the school, was there a bathroom. Indeed, in my young days, that was an unheard-of luxury in middle-class houses.

One of my father's intimate friends, of whom I have only a dim recollection, was John Edward Taylor, the founder of the *Manchester Guardian*. He had married Miss Scott, the daughter of the Rev. Russell Scott, of Portsmouth. I recollect him as a grave, sedate man, living at that time in Smedley Lane, Cheetham Hill. The *Manchester Guardian* was published only twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and cost threepence, and I well remember

¹ For names of some of these, see pp. 7-8.

the foreboding of disaster when it was proposed to reduce the price to a penny and to issue it daily.¹

One member of the *Guardian* staff, the late Mr. Harland,² owed his introduction to Manchester to my father. I have heard him tell how, after preaching in one of the Yorkshire towns (I think it was Hull),³ he was presented next morning with a most full and accurate report of his sermon by a clever young shorthand writer, whom he afterwards introduced to Mr. Taylor. This was Mr. Harland.

I can't remember how young I was when I first went to school, but I must have been a very small child when I came under the tuition of my dear and honoured friends, Miss Bessie and Miss Catharine Johns, to whose admirable teaching I owe a great debt of gratitude. They were most accomplished women and most skilful teachers. When I first went to their school, it was carried on in a house opposite ours in Great Cheetham Street, where they lived with their parents. Their father, the Rev. William Johns,⁴ a fine old Welshman, was minister of the Unitarian Chapel, Cross Street, Sale, of which, many years later, my father became minister in his last years. I never could understand why Mr. Johns lived so far away from his cure; perhaps it was for the greater convenience of his daughters' school. I don't think I can have been long at school when they moved from Great Cheetham Street to a large house in Great Clowes Street, which they named "Eaglesfield House", after the birthplace of their intimate friend, the celebrated Dr. Dalton. That brings me to the most interesting recollection of my childhood. When I was about eight or nine years old, Miss Johns told me that she was going to take me to have tea with a very learned man; that I was too young then to understand what an honour it was, but some day I should be very proud of having had tea with the celebrated Dr. Dalton.⁵ Well, so I was

¹ Originally, 1821, published on Saturday only at 7d., it was lowered to 4d. in 1836, appearing twice a week; in 1855 daily at 2d., and in 1857 at 1d.

² John Harland, F.S.A. (1806-68), edited 14 vols. for the Chetham Society, and wrote other antiquarian and historical works.

³ Bowl-alley Lane, Hull, in 1830.

⁴ Wm. Johns (1772-1845), one-time classical tutor at Manchester Academy, joint secretary, with his friend John Dalton, of Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society; had himself kept a school for boys, in George Street, and was associated with J. R. Beard in editorship of *Christian Teacher* for a time.

⁵ John Dalton died in 1844.

all my life. I did not reap the full glory of my introduction till sixty years later, when my son Arthur came home from New Zealand in 1901. He was asked to lecture to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society which has its home in George Street, where Dr. Dalton had his laboratory. I went with him to the lecture¹ which was preceded by a tea, in the course of which I mentioned to the secretary, at whose table we sat, the fact that I had once had tea with Dr. Dalton. He seemed much impressed; asked me many questions about my friends the Johns, took me all over the house, and showed me the Dalton relics that are so carefully preserved there. Then we all adjourned to the lecture room, and I thought the incident was closed, but, to my consternation, before introducing the lecturer, the President said that a most interesting thing had happened. They had with them that night a link with the past, a lady, who in her childhood, had once had tea with Dr. Dalton, and, addressing me by name, asked me if I would not say a few words to the audience. I was much too embarrassed to attempt it. Arthur declared afterwards that I had robbed him of all the glory of the occasion, which would have been a great shame if it had been true, for his lecture was a most interesting one, but I had to submit to being teased as "a link with the past" for some time. When the Dalton Centenary was celebrated a year or two later,² the society remembered me, and sent me tickets for all the functions.

I don't remember much about the first years at school, but one thing recurs to my memory. A small boy, one of my school-fellows, had a slight accident, and Mrs. Johns, who was a kindly, fussy old Welsh woman, produced the red bottle to dress the hurt. This red bottle was a panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to, and was sold in immense quantities by its maker, the Oldfield Lane doctor, as he was called. He was an unqualified practitioner, in whom uneducated people, and even some educated ones, had unbounded faith. I believe he was really a clever bone-setter, with very rough methods of treatment, but he did not confine his practice at all to that branch of the profession. People would consult him as a last resource, when more regular methods of treatment had failed. There were two generations of Oldfield Lane doctors, father and son.

¹ 4 March, 1902.

² Centenary of Announcement of Atomic Theory, 19-20 May, 1903.

I remember more about school, when we were removed to Eaglesfield House, still near enough for me to go by myself. . . . Though Miss Johns was not severe, she insisted on the greatest accuracy in our lessons ; whether it was a Latin verb which we had to learn, or a buttonhole which we had to make, it must be done perfectly. I am quite sure that her pupils, like myself, must, in after life, have been thankful to her for the habit of thoroughness so early insisted on. I began to learn Latin at eight years old, and can see myself now repeating the declensions learnt from Valpy's Grammar. We had no royal roads to learn languages in those days, and I am inclined still to think that the old methods were best, in point of mental discipline, which, after all, is the most important part of education. I stayed at Miss Johns' school until it was given up on the marriage of Catharine to Professor Eaton Hodgkinson,¹ and think I must have been a favourite with my dear schoolmistress, for, when she died some years after, she left me a legacy of ten pounds. My father added enough to it to buy me a watch, which I still carry. . . .

After Miss Johns's school was given up, a friend of my mother from the South, Miss Jeffrey,² tried to establish one on the old connection, but it was very inferior in teaching and in the class of pupils. Still, it lingered on for some years, and, for a short time, I was sent to it for an hour or two in the day. My real education then fell into my father's hands. I was put into the classes in his school, until my eldest brother ³ went to College, and did just the same lessons as he did. My father was a really splendid teacher, and we had excellent masters for mathematics and foreign languages. I have always been deeply grateful for the education I thus received. It made a better mother for my children than any other training could have done. My father had quite modern notions about female education, and was very desirous of making me an independent woman, with a career of my own. All his plans were defeated by my early engagement and marriage.

At the time of the great anti-corn law legislation, my mother was one of a group of ladies warmly interested in the cause. There were

¹ Eaton Hodgkinson (1780-1861). See *D.N.B.*

² Ruth Jeffrey, aunt of Mrs. J. R. McKee, kept a small school in Bury New Road, and had previously done so at Horsham where her niece (then Louisa Jeffrey) and Mary Barnes (afterwards Mrs. John Relly Beard) were pupils.

³ Charles Beard.

some remarkably handsome women amongst them, of whom Mrs. Cobden, Mrs. Sale, Mrs. Duffield, Mrs. Higgin, and my mother were striking examples. A great bazaar was got up to raise funds, for the cause, and my mother was one of the stallholders.

I don't remember how it came about, but I was one day captured by some of the ladies, and sent round the bazaar with a thing called a fortune-teller. It certainly was not premeditated, for I was conscious of not being what I considered properly dressed for the part, and of my hair falling over my face, in a rather untidy fashion. I suppose my childishness was attractive. I could not have been more than nine years old, for I raked in a good many shillings and sixpences.

I had not a very cheerful childhood. There was too much sickness in our nursery for that, and, in those days, children had not the wealth of toys and amusements that they enjoy now. We had a big rocking-horse, and a number of wooden bricks of two sizes, and those are the only toys that I remember. I never cared for dolls, perhaps because I lived so much with boys. . . .

Annual excursions to the seaside or elsewhere were never thought of. I can recollect one or two visits to Lytham for the sake of the delicate children. Once I remember we all went into Wales for a holiday about which I recollect little, except that my father bought a pony which, after much debate, he named "Nupsy", because it was bought on his wedding day. I came to grief on this animal. I cannot understand now why such a small child, as I was, was allowed to mount it, under the care of a brother not much older than myself. The creature bolted; threw me off on to the road, and I had a deep cut, of which I bear the scar to this day. I have never attempted to ride since.

When my father wanted to give us a treat in the holidays, he would hire or borrow a carriage, and drive us out into the country. Once, when very small, I was taken to Liverpool by the railway; then quite a new thing.¹ The great pleasure of my childhood was visits to my friend Sarah Howorth, daughter of a Unitarian minister of Bury,² who was a college friend of my father. That friendship begun when we were quite small children, continued without a break for more than seventy years until her death,³ and the tie is yet unbroken, as our children have continued the long intimacy, and

¹ Opened 15 September, 1830.

² Franklin Howorth (1804-82).

³ In 1902. She married the Rev. S. A. Steinthal in 1852.

have further cemented it by marriage ties ; her son and my son having married sisters, so that our grandchildren are cousins. . . .

There were a great many Grundys in the Bury congregation, all more or less related to each other. I recollect going to a party with my friend at the house of Mrs. Grundy at the " Wilde ", in all the pride of a new light grey cashmere frock, with a pink crape handkerchief over my little shoulders. I was just ten years old. How strange a little girl of ten would look in such a costume now ? Once, we went out to spend the day with a dear old maiden lady, a Miss Grundy, whose house at Summerseat was seven miles from Bury. I have a dim recollection of her kind, sweet, old face, framed by a large cap, and the comfortable shawl she wore. It must, I think, be her great-nephew, Mr. Cuthbert Grundy,¹ who has lately given the house and lands of Summerseat to the Manchester Education Committee, to be converted into a Sanatorium for consumptive children. From what I remember of the dear old lady, I should think that she would rejoice in such a use of her old home. . . .

After some time, Sarah was sent to school, to the Parsonage at Stand, where the Rev. Philip Carpenter² was then minister. The sister, who kept his house, took a few pupils, but I think Sarah was the only boarder. I used sometimes to go and stay with her there. Stand was within easy reach of our home at Broughton, and two of Miss Carpenter's pupils, Helen and Annie Shawcross, who then lived at Kersal, used to walk over daily for their lessons. The Carpenters, who belonged to the distinguished family of that name, which included amongst its members the social reformer Mary Carpenter and the eminent physiologist Dr. William Carpenter, were extremely eccentric people ; who did nothing like ordinary folks. The housekeeping at Stand was most peculiar. All sorts of experiments were tried, and the doctrine of the simple life was carried to an excess. But they were high-minded, excellent people all the same. In the second generation the eccentricity has worn out to a large degree, while the fine moral and intellectual qualities of the family have persisted. Professor Estlin Carpenter, Principal of Manchester College, nephew of my friends at Stand, is a perfect example of a learned scholar and a courteous Christian gentleman. Philip Carpenter did not remain many years at Stand.³

¹ Sir Cuthbert Grundy, J.P.

² Philip Pearsall Carpenter (1819-77).

³ 1841-6, at Warrington 1846-58, then emigrated to Canada.

I think he was too peculiar for the taste of some members of his congregation. He went from there to Warrington, where his eccentricities became still more marked, and he finally emigrated to Canada. He was an able scientific man, of some eminence in conchology. The sister, who lived with him at Stand, married, I think, a Bristol gentleman. Bristol was the native city of the Carpenters, and the scene of Mary Carpenter's noble and devoted work. Miss Cobbe, in her *Autobiography*, gives a most entertaining account of Miss Carpenter's work, in which she shared for a time, but she, too, dwells on the extreme eccentricities of the Carpenter ménage.

I have other recollections of Stand Parsonage. An old fellow student of my husband, the Rev. John Davies, was many years later minister at Stand, and Master of the Grammar School there,¹ and to him we sent our eldest son when he was nine years old. Some other of our friends also sent their sons there, but it was not at all a success, and we soon removed our boy. . . .

The Parsonage itself and the quaint old chapel were little altered many years later, but there was a fine new school built in which very good work has been done. To go back to my childhood, I was taught regularly in my father's school, joining in the boys' classes, but I never played with them in the playground. This went on till I was fifteen. Then my parents determined to send me to a boarding-school for a year, so that I might have the companionship of other girls. When I was quite a little girl, my brothers Charles and John and I once spent part of our Christmas holidays at Monton, the place which I then little expected to be so intimately connected with my later life. We were very friendly with a family of the name of Chorley who belonged to Monton. . . . I have a distinct remembrance of being impressed by the little old chapel, with which I afterwards became so familiar. In those days, the only conveyance between Monton and Manchester was the Packet Boat on the Canal. . . . Our intimacy with the Chorleys lasted until the end of their lives. Helen married a friend of my brothers and my husband's, Dr. John Fletcher, who, in after years, was our valued medical adviser. . . . Mr. Chorley was a zealous Unitarian and had a perfect passion for Ministers and everything ministerial, especially the students of Manchester New College, which then had its home in Manchester. It was a matter of

¹ Schoolmaster, but not minister at Stand, though he served in the ministry at Newport, Birkenhead, and Bridport.

intense regret to him that neither of his daughters married a minister. Another visit which I paid to this neighbourhood was when I was about nine years old, and came out to spend an afternoon at a farmhouse, almost within a stone throw of the place where I now live. I have a vivid recollection of the smell of burning weeds, and the big farmhouse where we had tea. I also remember the pattern of the new winter cloak which I had on, which was made in a fine woollen material, and was a purplish plaid. Mr. Lansdale, the owner of the farm, had an only son who was a pupil at my father's school. It really was the depths of the country then ; quite unspoiled by rows of houses and noisy tramcars.

Before writing of my departure from home, I must mention two or three incidents concerning my early education. How well I remember our dancing lessons ? The nursery was cleared and the floor well scrubbed for them. Our dancing masters (for we had two), came, I believe, from Liverpool, and visited us on alternate weeks. Their names were Chappé and Tosset. Monsieur Chappé was a fat, good-humoured Frenchman whom we all liked. Monsieur Tosset was a tartar whom we all disliked. He was succeeded by Monsieur Dugit, who was more after the pattern of Monsieur Tosset, but I think they were good teachers. We learnt to dance a minuet and gavotte, as well as the more modern dances. We thought we were very modern when we learnt the polka.

We had some interesting men as Ushers in my father's school. The Rev. J. R. McKee made a great pet of me when I was a little girl, and, for his sake, I have always loved Irishmen. He married a friend of my mother, Miss Louisa Jeffrey, and afterwards became minister of the Unitarian Chapel at Tavistock, and later, at Shrewsbury. His wife was a very interesting woman, who had been companion to Miss Harriet Martineau with whom she travelled in America. Our connection with the McKees has been a lasting family friendship. Another Usher was the Rev. Henry Vaughan Palmer, who afterwards took orders in the English Church, and was the father of Mrs. Stannard, who under the name of " John Strange Winter " wrote popular stories. Then we always had a foreign tutor resident in the house, some of whom were very curious characters ; one I remember was a Pole, named Domanski, who created great consternation by staying out all night. He had to be hunted for all over Manchester, and soon altogether disappeared from the establishment. Not long before my father gave up the

School, we had another Irishman, a Mr. Napier,¹ who afterwards went into the Unitarian ministry, and died only last year at a great age after a long and honourable career. If I had not already been engaged, it is possible that I might have married him as he wished me to do, and have spent my life in Ireland.

At the time when I was sent away to School, I had already made the acquaintance of my future husband, and I think that my parents felt that I was growing up much too fast, for I was only fifteen. Girls grew up sooner in those days than they do now, and married earlier. My two most intimate friends, Sarah Howorth and Mary Robberds,² and myself, were all married in the year we were twenty-one.

I don't think my father and mother chose a very good school for me, though it had a great reputation among our friends. The ladies who kept it were the daughters of the Rev. William Field,³ who had for many years a boys' school in the same house, and who still took some classes in his daughters' school. "Leam House" is situated half-way between Warwick and Leamington. It was a very good house, with large and pleasant grounds attached to it, and all the arrangements were satisfactory, but I have no pleasant recollections of old Mrs. Field and her daughters. . . . They had a prejudice against me because I had been brought up at a boys' school. There were about twenty of us in the school. . . . Another thing, though trifling, was very distasteful to me. Though most of us were Unitarians, and went to the Sunday services at our chapel at Warwick, there were a few Church girls, who also went to Warwick to Church. The Church was nearer than the Chapel, and Miss Lucy Field,⁴ who took the girls to Church, and Miss Alice Field, who took us to Chapel, chose that we should walk together, but Miss Lucy did not start soon enough for us to get to Chapel in time, as she did not care to wait at the Church before the service began. The consequence was that we were always late at Chapel, and had

¹ William Napier (1827-1911), educated at Manchester College, minister at Clough, Co. Down, 1867-1911.

² Daughter of the Rev. John Gooch Robberds, minister, Cross Street Chapel, 1811-54, and one time Professor at Manchester College.

³ William Field (1768-1851), biographer of Dr. Samuel Parr; minister, Warwick 1789-1843, Kenilworth 1830-1850.

⁴ After the School was given up, Lucy Field was engaged by Baron Meyer de Rothschild to take charge of his only daughter and remained with her until she married Lord Rosebery in 1878.

to walk up the aisle after the service had begun, which was extremely disconcerting to us big girls and also to the young minister, the Rev. T. L. Marshall.¹ He had only just left College at Manchester, where I had known him and his parents, who lived with him. I was allowed occasionally to visit them at Warwick, and he told me how much this habit of the Fields annoyed him ; but, after all, my life at Leam was not without its pleasures. Lessons were no difficulty to me after the excellent training I had had. They seemed absurdly easy, and I learnt to play and enjoy outdoor games. Then our winter evenings' amusement of acting, charades, and tableaux was a great delight to me. Once we were ambitious enough to attempt "The Rivals". At first, I had a very small part assigned to me, but, before the rehearsals were over, I was promoted to that of "Bob Acres".

But I never look back with pleasure to my schooldays, and have always envied my friend Sarah Howorth, whose year at Miss Martineau's school² at Liverpool, was a far happier and more useful experience in every way than mine had been at Leam.

When I returned home, I taught for a little while some junior classes in my father's school, but in about two years, my father sold his school, and we removed to a house in Lower Broughton. I had not been at home long before I organised a dramatic company in the school. We really got up a very effective company. Among them were some of the Agnews, whose family are the present proprietors of *Punch*. Their sister joined our company. We had only two performances which might be called public. At the first, we were not very ambitious, and contented ourselves with two slight plays, one of which was called "Monsieur Toncon"; I forget the name of the other. One of the tutors in the house wrote a prologue for us, and we were so successful that we determined to try a higher flight. We chose Sheridan's "Critic" for our next performance. Again, we had a prologue written by our poetical tutor,³ of which I remember only two lines :

" And here's Miss Beard of whom
The Greeks would say
Her the gods love to honour
And obey "

¹ Thos. Lethbridge Marshall (1825-1919), minister, Warwick 1846-53 ; Editor of *Inquirer*, 1856-87.

² Rachel Martineau, sister of James Martineau.

³ Peter Livingstone, a Scotsman, author of *Poems and Songs*, 1848.

I duly went clad in white satin as Tilburina, with my confidante, who, I think, was Miss Agnew in white linen. We had a crowded audience. . . . My white satin costume was lent to me by a very dear old friend, a widow lady, Mrs. Worthington, mother of a large family of boys, of whom only two still survive, the eldest and the youngest—Mr. Barton Worthington, who now must be ninety years of age, and the Rev. Jeffrey Worthington. Mrs. Worthington had no daughter and liked me to be with her. She introduced me to her next door neighbour, Mrs. Prescott, the wife of a doctor, who was a very eccentric character. She took a great fancy to me, and professed a great admiration for my family. . . . “My dear,” she once said to me, “there are three aristocracies, one of birth, one of wealth, and one of talent. Your family belongs to the aristocracy of talent.” I stayed with her for a few days. She had three enormous pet cats, and, judge of my astonishment, when the supper-table was laid, to see three saucers of meat cut up small placed on the end of the table, and when we sat down to supper, the cats jumped up on the table, and took theirs with us. I was still more astonished when I found that they slept in her bedroom, in which there was a huge fire. It was not a large room, and, being over the surgery, was odorous of drugs and cats, the smell of which so pervaded the house that it took some days to get it out of my clothes. . . . She was related in some way to Prescott, the American historian, and once a member of that family, an American Swedenborgian minister, came over to visit them. She invited me to meet him, and plainly told me she would like to make a match between us ; but if the American gentleman had any such idea, my views were quite of a different kind. My intimacy with her continued until my marriage, when she presented me with a gaily bound volume of her own compiling, called *The Marriage Offering*.

Before I went away to school, I had become acquainted with my future husband. My mother’s friend, Miss Jeffrey, of whom I have spoken before, did not find her school successful, and tried to eke out her income by taking a lodger. A friend of hers in Horsham, Mr. Agate, had a ward, who was coming to study for the ministry at Manchester New College, and he placed him in lodgings at Miss Jeffrey’s. He soon became very intimate at our house, attended the Bridge Street Chapel, and taught in the Sunday School. Before long, we were quite sure of our attachment to each other. . . . When I returned home, we were allowed to see much

of each other, although our engagement was not formally recognised for two or three years.

I have several interesting recollections of those years before my marriage ; one is of a visit of Emerson to Manchester.¹ He dined with us, and we went to hear him lecture at the Athenæum. I thought him very disappointing, and that his conversation and his lecture were both dull. Another interesting recollection is of Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, who addressed a very crowded audience at the Free Trade Hall,² when the heat was so great that my friend Sarah Howorth fainted, and we could not get her out of the Hall, but had to take her to the back of the gallery and restore her there as best we could. Somewhere about this time,³ the celebrated Jenny Lind came to Manchester and gave a concert, the proceeds of which were to build a new wing to the Infirmary, now all swept away. I recall my delight at her singing in "The Creation".

My father got me a commission to write some articles for the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. They were biographical sketches, one of Kossuth and one of Jenny Lind, and I was paid two guineas each for them. It was the only actual money I ever earned, and I was very proud of it. I was by no means idle, for, after my father gave up the school, I acted as his secretary, helping him in literary work by translating from French and German and correcting proofs. . . . At this time, my eldest brother Charles was a fellow student, with my future husband, John Dendy, at Manchester New College, and my friend Sarah Howorth was engaged to another student, Alfred Steinthal.⁴ Naturally, under these circumstances, very much of the interest of my life was centred in Manchester New College. . . . Most of the students lived in the neighbourhood of the College in Grosvenor Square, close to All Saints' Church, a house now occupied by the Chorlton Public Offices. There was at that time very good society in that neighbourhood, and the young men received a great deal of kind hospitality. John Dendy soon removed to 93 Lloyd Street, where he boarded with Miss

¹ November, 1847, Emerson's second visit to England.

² November, 1851.

³ Jenny Lind visited Manchester, August, 1847, then September, 1848. She was the guest of Mrs. Salis Schwabe, a member of Cross Street Chapel.

⁴ Samuel Alfred Steinthal (1826-1910), minister, Bridgwater 1852-7, Platt Chapel 1864-71, Cross Street, Manchester, 1871-93.

Mitchell, a very cultivated lady, who kept a boarding-house for the students. One of his fellow boarders was Frank Harrison Hill,¹ who afterwards became a distinguished journalist. The hospitality the young men received, they tried, in some measure, to return by giving an annual party at the College on the occasion of a meeting of their literary society, called "Poz", the proper name of which was the "College Repository", a magazine which dated back to the days of the College at York. . . . There were many bound volumes of it in manuscript, containing rich treasures both in verse and prose. . . . After the removal of M.N.C. to London, a generation of students arose who, I suppose, had not the ability to keep up this time-honoured institution, and they broke up the society, and divided the precious volumes among themselves. . . . It ought to have been preserved in the Library as a memorial of the past.² It was a courted distinction to be President of "Poz", an honour enjoyed both by my brother and my husband. How delightful those yearly parties were! The young men were allowed the use of the fine Library wherein to receive their guests, and their ideas of hospitality were very lavish. The intellectual part of the entertainment consisted of the reading of selections from "Poz", and, as the students included men who distinguished themselves for literary ability in after life, the entertainment was by no means a poor one. The College porter, Joshua Williamson, was a most eccentric character, who certainly considered himself a most important part of the establishment. He treated the students with the utmost familiarity, calling them by their Christian names and freely criticising all their ways and doings.

In 1848, my brother left M.N.C., and went for a year to study at Berlin University. He was at this time engaged to Mary Ellen Shipman, who afterwards became my dearly loved sister. She was one of the most lovable women that ever lived. . . . I do not think that there ever came a cloud between us. . . . The Shipmans were a Leicestershire family who had come to live in Manchester, when Robert, the only son, became a partner in a firm of solicitors in the city.³ He was a very successful man, most

¹ Assistant Editor, *Daily News*, 1865-9, Editor 1869-86.

² Many volumes are preserved in the Library of Manchester College, Oxford, including those when Charles Beard was a contributor. He was Secretary of "Poz" in 1848.

³ R. M. Shipman was Chairman of the Committee of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, 1854-74.

deservedly so, and our family owed much to his warm friendship and distinguished legal ability. . . . My sister-in-law was always very fond of my husband. There was a curious bond between them in the fact that neither of them had been christened. This was owing to their belonging to General Baptist families, who believed in adult baptism, but had given up the practice before they had grown up. . . . The Shipmans' (*sic*) house overlooked what was then the Manchester Race Course. It had been removed from Kersal Moor where the races were held in my childhood. I remember the turf seats for spectators, cut out on the hill-side overlooking the course, and the white building, which was the grand-stand. . . . Race week was a time of special hard work for Sunday School teachers, who devoted themselves to keeping their children amused out of reach of the many temptations of the race-course.¹ One day was always given up to an excursion into the country by rail. How well I remember the fatigue of those days! We used to be packed into cattle-trucks, where we had to stand all through the journey, and, what with the responsibility for our children and the heat and fatigue of the journey, we were pretty well worn out by the end of the week. . . . It was pleasanter when the excursion was by boat on the Bridgwater Canal to Dunham Park. When I was nineteen and my lover twenty-one, we were allowed to call ourselves engaged. I wore a ring, and was invited to visit the Dendy family in the South of England.

That brings me to give some account of the family, which is a very old one. They date back as far as the fifteenth century, when a Randolph Dendy settled in Derbyshire.² There was an Edward Dendy, Sergeant-at-Arms to the Parliament in Cromwell's time, who took the warrant for execution to Charles the First.³

My husband belonged to the elder branch of the family, which, for generations, had been settled as yeomen, i.e. farmers of their own land, in Sussex and Surrey. His father, who lived on his farm

¹ This gave rise to the Whitsuntide festivities in Manchester, including the Processions of Sunday School scholars.

² Sir W. J. Collins, *Some Memorials of the Dendy Family*. *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, April, 1917, speaks of "Otwell Dende or Dendye born about 1450, described as of the Blacke Sha in the chapelrie of Hayfielde".

³ *Ibid.* "He attended the commission for the trial of Charles I riding in to Westminster Hall & there made proclamations on behalf of the commissioners." See Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 362, and Carlyle's *Cromwell*, II, 360, "He died in exile".

at Tower Hill, near Horsham, was the eldest son of a large family, whose father died while most of them were still young. He devoted himself to managing the family property, and did not marry until he had seen his brothers and sisters all fairly settled in life. When he died,¹ he left only one little delicate son, a daughter having died as a baby. My husband's mother did not remain a widow very long. She married Mr. Evershed,² whose first wife had been a sister-in-law, Miss Dendy, who had left a large family.³ So my husband was brought up at Tedfold, near Billingshurst, with a lot of young people, who were really his first cousins, but whom he always called brothers and sisters. . . . When he was about fourteen, he was sent to Chichester to the Rev. Mr. Fullagar, minister of the General Baptist chapel in that town.⁴ He was there two or three years, and while he was there his mother died, and he was left to the guardianship of her cousin, Mr. Agate,⁵ a tradesman in Horsham, and of his stepfather, who never took any active part in the management of his affairs. Mr. Agate was a most conscientious and efficient guardian. When John was sixteen, he was sent to learn farming with Mr. John Evershed, of Gomersal, a cousin of his stepfather, but though he dearly loved country life, he had already developed literary tastes, which were much encouraged by Mrs. Evershed, an intelligent and cultivated woman. He made up his mind to become a minister, and, after a few months preparation from the Rev. Mr. Malcolm,⁶ came to Manchester New College.

The Dendys have a curious history. My husband's grandfather, who was a General Baptist minister at Horsham,⁷ and also farmed his own land at Tower Hill, had a younger brother,⁸ who

¹ 24 January, 1830, aged 36.

² William Evershed. The Eversheds were an old Horsham family, and a William Evershed was minister of the Chapel, 1755-99.

³ Henrietta Evershed, *née* Dendy, died 20 April, 1832, leaving seven children.

⁴ From 1818 to 1861.

⁵ James Agate, Treasurer of Horsham Chapel.

⁶ James Malcolm, minister, Billingshurst, 1838-40.

⁷ Minister, 1796-1814. The chapel records suggest that he returned to Tower Hill towards the end of life. During the early years of his ministry, he lived at Ifield Court, nr. Crawley, 8 miles from the Chapel. He married his cousin, Sarah Dendy, and inherited both the estates mentioned.

⁸ Richard Caffyn Dendy (1758-1832).

went up to London towards the end of the eighteenth century, and there made a large fortune during the French wars. He became intimate with some of George the Third's disreputable sons, and amongst the family letters is one in which he says that he is about to be godfather to a child to whom the Princess Augusta was god-mother. It was his great ambition to make a wealthy Dendy family, and he chose my husband's father, the head of the family, to be his heir, for he never married himself. Unfortunately, his chosen heir died before him, leaving my husband his only child. Other members of the family persuaded the old uncle that the child was not likely to live, and that his intentions would not be fulfilled. Finally, he made a most curious will, leaving all to Stephen,¹ the youngest of his nephews, who lived with him at Leigh Place and did not marry until after his uncle's death. He married Elizabeth Saunders,² of Hookwood in Surrey, a remarkably handsome woman, who belonged to a very old family.³ They certainly had been settled at Hookwood for a great many generations, and Hookwood was a very curious old house, with coats of arms in the windows, full of old furniture, china, and other heirlooms. The Jesuit Saunders,⁴ who suffered under Queen Elizabeth, belonged to the family. Stephen had six sons and three daughters. His sons all died young, and the Dendy money passed to his daughters and their children, thus entirely defeating the old man's intention of keeping it in the family name. His will had been so worded as to make it possible to cut off the entail, which was accordingly done by Stephen and his eldest son, who lived just long enough to accomplish the business.

I knew but little of these facts when I went to visit at Leigh Place, where I received a very kindly welcome. It was a most curious old house, dating back to the fourteenth century.⁵ There is a deep moat all round it, which is crossed by three bridges, one

¹ 1800-61.

² 1813-81.

³ "The Saunders family for 300 years resided at Charlwood (Surrey), and were descended from the 'antient Lords of Saunderstede'. The beautiful screen in the church, said to be of 13th-century work, was presented by one of the family." Sir W. J. Collins, *ut supra*, p. 10.

⁴ Nicholas Sanders, 1530?-1581. See *D.N.B.*

⁵ "Between the joists of the upper floors was found a silver porringer containing silver coins dating from Edward I to William III; from the moat have been recovered Roman coins of Domitian's time." Sir W. J. Collins, *ut supra*, p. 9.

of which was originally a drawbridge, but had been fixed down long before I knew the place. Old Richard bought the house and estate whilst still in business in London, and used to bring down there parties of his friends, some of them, 'tis said, not too respectable. Leigh Place is in the depths of the country, a few miles from Reigate ; and, when I knew it, the nearest way from the town crossed a little river by a ford. There was a narrow bridge for foot passengers and horses, but when the river was swollen after rain, carriages had to go many miles round. There is a curious old church very near the Manor House, with a wooden tower, in the chancel of which lie the bodies of old Richard and his three sons.¹

I felt very shy when I first arrived at Leigh Place, but I greatly enjoyed my visit. This was in the summer of 1850. I was lodged in what was called " the armoury room " because it was decorated with pieces of old armour that had been fished up out of the moat. Then there was " the clock room ", so called because the weights of a clock, which was in a little tower of the roof, came down into it. Then, of course, there was a ghost ; no house of this kind could be without one. I never heard of its appearance, but there was a very sad inscription over the fireplace in " the Ghost room ", said to have been left there by the unhappy man who haunted it. There was a pretty garden around the house, entered by the front door which opened out of the drawing-room. Those who did not enter by it had to go through the kitchen and house place, which was a big flagged apartment, from which the oak staircase ascended. Altogether, Leigh Place was a very curious experience to a town-bred girl like myself, though we had some very happy times there. The moat was well stocked with fish, and John was an enthusiastic fisherman. One day, he hooked a big carp, so big that he could not land it, and, not having a landing-net with him, we cried for help, and Mrs. Dendy came running out of the kitchen, with a frying-pan in her hand, in which the big prize was secured. Another adventure was when he put out in a washing-tub on the moat to secure a rich harvest of ripe plums, which hung over the water, and were quite inaccessible from the land. . . . After a few weeks at Leigh Place, we went on to Tedfold, the home of my husband's boyhood. This was quite a different sort of establishment. Mr. Evershed was a good-tempered, easy-going man, who left things

¹ An obvious error. Richard was a bachelor. The Dendys buried are Richard Caffyn Dendy ; his nephew Stephen and his wife, and their three children.

very much in the hands of his grown-up sons and daughters, but we had such a jolly time there. It was a fine old rambling farmhouse, with a big garden, and barns and stables coming close up to it. The living-room, or hall, as it was called, was a large apartment, with flagged floor and a wide chimney-corner in which there were seats. There was a room called "the parlour", used only on state occasions. Out of a corner of the "Hall" one went up three or four steps into the little parlour, and from thence down three or four steps into a little passage leading into the kitchen. High up in the wall in this little parlour was a door, opening into a sort of recess in the kitchen chimney, where the bacon and hams were hung to be cured by the smoke of the kitchen fires. It was always John Evershed's business to manage the smoking of the bacon, and I was much amused to see him emerging from this recess with black hands and face, bringing down a supply of bacon. Housekeeping at Tedfold was on a very lavish scale, and to my town-bred ideas it was very strange to see eggs, cream, butter, poultry and all other kinds of farm produce used without counting the cost. Baking day, which came once a week, was a novel experience to me. There was a huge brick oven, so large that a man could stand upright in it. This was heated with great faggots of wood, and, when the ashes were cleared out, pies and cakes were first put in to be succeeded by the week's supply of bread. The meat and poultry were roasted before a wood fire on the kitchen hearth, on a long spit, turned by a wheel which required constant care to keep wound up. Certainly, no meat ever tasted so delicious as that roasted before a wood fire. The cooking operations were always superintended, and often actually performed, by the daughters of the house themselves. The servants were employed mostly for the rougher work, though, I believe, there was a dairy-maid for the butter-making. Living at Tedfold was luxurious, as far as eating and drinking were concerned. I have a vivid recollection of the "Syllabubs", which were summer afternoon treats. A big china bowl was taken, and into it were put a handful of lumps of sugar, over which some nutmeg was grated. On this was poured a wineglass of brandy and four or five glasses of home-made wine. Then the bowl was taken to the cow, which was milked into it until it was quite full. The result was very delicious, though it had to be taken with caution. I remember once long years after, when we lived in the country and had cows of our own, that I made a "Syllabub" for some guests, who had driven out of

Town, some miles distant. One of them remarked that he could take a good deal of this delicious compound, because it was not intoxicating, but we were told afterwards that he drove home at a rate very alarming to his companions.

Whilst I was at Tedfold, the youngest of the Eversheds, Rebecca, was married to William Gardiner, and I was one of the bridesmaids. She was a very handsome girl, and I remember thinking it was rather a pity that she was marrying a man a good deal older than herself. Billingshurst Chapel is a very quaint, picturesque little building, of which my chief recollection is that the men sat all by themselves on one side, and the women on the other. The Leigh Place Dendys had deserted the traditions of their Puritan ancestors, and went decorously to Church.

It was at Tedfold that I made the acquaintance of Helen Maria Dendy,¹ my husband's second cousin. She was one of those persons so useful in a large family, and, at the same time, such a delightful companion. She was the youngest of a very large family. Her home was in London, with her brother Edward, who was in the Herald's College, and also private secretary to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Marshall.² Another brother, Walter Cooper Dendy,³ was a physician of high standing, doctor to the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond Street. He was also an author of some reputation, and a very finished courteous gentleman. Helen Dendy, among her many kind offices, prepared my home as a bride, and to this day, more than sixty years later, I am using articles of furniture, whose desirability bears witness to her good judgment and taste.

Before returning home, I paid another visit to Mrs. Rowland, my husband's aunt on his mother's side, who lived at Horsham. They lived in a quaint wooden house, close to the malthouse. It was the most exquisitely kept house I ever saw. Everything was so dainty, from the mistress down to the minutest detail for house-keeping. Here again, I had the kindest welcome, and made to feel that my engagement was heartily approved.

¹ Helen Maria Dendy lived to be 96, dying 28 January, 1910. She married, in mature life, her cousin, John Dendy Evershed, who died in 1891.

² Edward Stephen Dendy, Rouge Dragon and Chester Herald of the Herald's College.

³ Walter Cooper Dendy (1794-1871). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, and, for his connection as a medical student with Keats, see *Times Literary Supplement*, 31 May, 1934.

When I returned to Manchester, we had to make up our minds to a long parting. It had been John's intention to spend a year in Egypt, before settling down, studying the explorations which were then assuming so much importance, and also the languages of the East. He had arranged to travel with a companion, who failed him at the last moment, so that his plans quite broke down. My brother Charles had just returned from a year's study at Berlin University, and John thought he could not do better than follow his example. He would then have the opportunity of studying under Professor Lepsius, the great Orientalist scholar, and might find an opportunity of going thence to the East later on. This opportunity did, in fact, occur, but he relinquished it because, in his absence, I had fallen into delicate health, and he felt that it was undesirable to defer our marriage for another year. He went to Berlin in the autumn of 1850, and occupied the same rooms as my brother Charles had had. He made some good friends in Berlin, of whom the most intimate was Wilhelm Förster, who was afterwards Astronomer Royal at Berlin. John accompanied him to his home in Silesia, and also on a tour in the Harz Mountains, about which he wrote me very full and interesting letters. Of Professor Lepsius,¹ he also saw something in private, and he became very intimate with Fraülein Neander, the sister of the theologian Neander, who had recently died.² My brother had been in the habit of going to read to her, and John did the same. She gave him a little silver crucifix, which had belonged to her brother, and my husband always treasured it as a precious relic of the great theologian. His Oriental studies were so successful that he was made a member of the German Oriental Society. I returned home when he went to Berlin.

¹ Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-84), Professor at Berlin, 1846-73.

² Died 14 July, 1850.

JOHN DENDY, O.B.E.

(1 November, 1852—14 July, 1924)

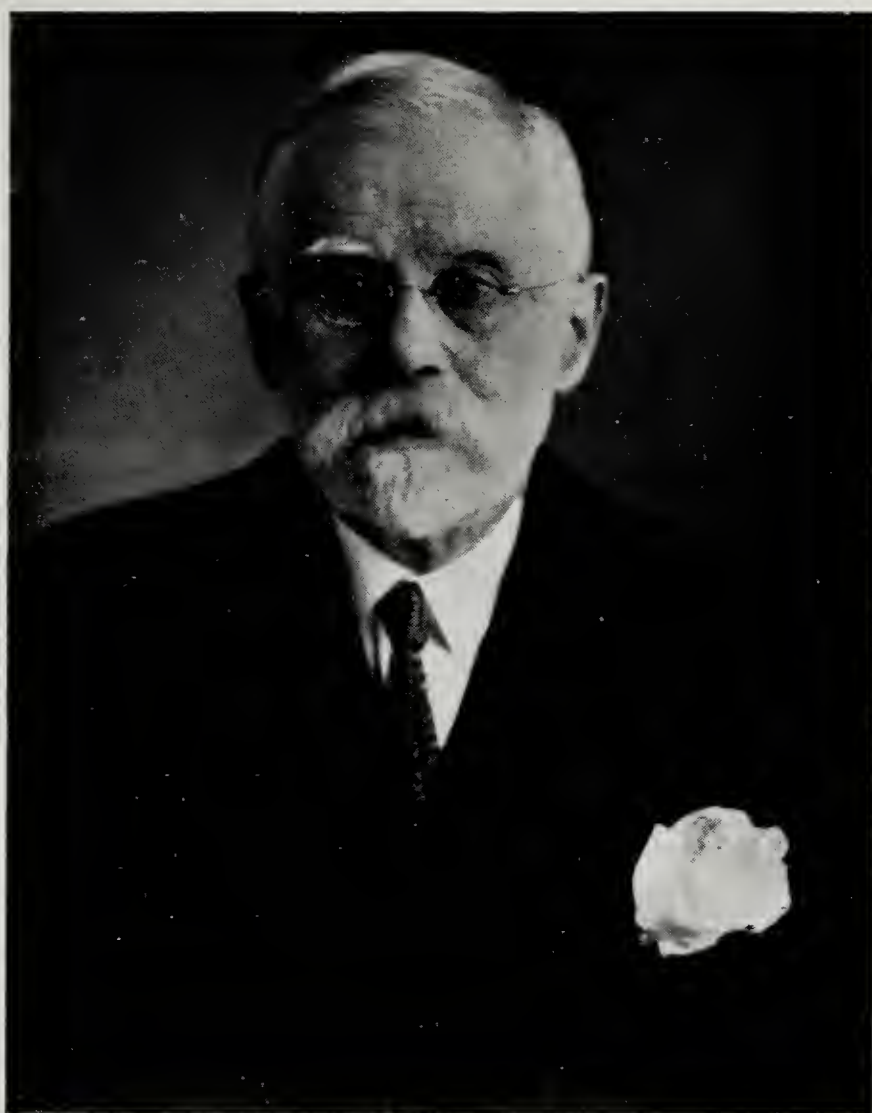
JOHN DENDY, eldest son of John and Sarah Dendy (*née* Beard), and grandson of John Relly Beard, was born, 1 November, 1852, at 13 Oxford Place, a modest dwelling in Cheltenham, where his father was the Unitarian minister. His mother, third child and eldest daughter of J. R. Beard, was married 20 January, 1852.

John Dendy, Sr. (2 June, 1828—31 March, 1894) came of an old yeoman stock,¹ for long connected with the General Baptist Chapel at Horsham, of which his grandfather of the same name was minister, 1796–1814. Another “John Dendy” was a disciple of Matthew Caffyn (1628–1714), whose teaching led to the issue, by the General Baptist Assembly, of “the first formal endorsement of latitudinarian opinions on the article of the Trinity, made by any tolerated section of English dissent”.² The Dendy family went back to the beginnings of dissent, and John Dendy, Jr., once declared: “I am a sturdy Nonconformist, tracing back my descent to the Commonwealth in an unbroken line of Nonconformity.”

Educated at Manchester College, John Dendy, Sr., was a fellow student of Charles Beard. He graduated B.A. (London) in 1849, and studied later in Berlin. He was minister at Cheltenham, 1851–4, and Stourbridge, 1855–8. He then went into business at Manchester, and settled first at Patricroft, and then at “Tower Hill”, Worsley, the name of the house being that of the family home at Horsham. He was secretary of the building committee, whose labours resulted in the erection of the beautiful church at Monton in 1875, of which his friend and fellow student, Thomas Elford Poynting, was minister. He served on the committees of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board and Manchester College, and of the local Technical Instruction Committee. In 1883, he returned to the ministry, and settled at Newport, Isle of Wight,

¹ For the Dendy Family, see “Recollections by Sarah Dendy”, pp. 104–27.

² Alex Gordon, *Heads of English Unitarian History*, p. 30.



JOHN DENDY

where he remained until his death. Here he was secretary of an Association for the Maintenance of Higher Education, which promoted courses of Oxford University Extension lectures, and, together with his wife, gave much time and thought to the Jubilee Library in the town.

A volume of sermons, preached at Newport, was published by his widow in 1895, as "a Memorial of Ten Years of happy work and mutual love and service".

Into this inheritance of religious endeavour and public service, his eldest son entered in due course.

John Dendy, Jr., began his education as a boy of nine at Stand Grammar School, under John Davies, M.A., a fellow student of his father at Manchester College.

Thence he was removed to the school at Southport conducted by F. E. Millson, afterwards minister, 1872-1901, at Northgate End Chapel, Halifax. Millson was a man of fine gifts, a reviewer for the *Spectator* in its palmy days, and, in the words of the late Professor Charles Harold Herford, "a literary critic of delicate and discerning taste". It is clear that from Millson, Dendy learnt much that was never forgotten. After a further course of study at Owens College, then housed in Quay Street, Deansgate, he was articled to Messrs. Sale, Shipman, Seddon & Sale, a well-known firm of Manchester solicitors. In January, 1876, he passed the final examination of the Incorporated Law Society and obtained the Clifford's Inn Prize, being placed first in the honours list. On the completion of his articles he entered into partnership with Mr. A. Edgar Paterson, a leading Unitarian of Altrincham.

On 21 August, 1881, he married Lucy Higgin (b. 1 April, 1858), daughter of James Higgin and Sarah Tipping Crook of Worsley, members of the Monton congregation. Bride and bridegroom had known each other from childhood. In later years, partly for reasons of health, they frequently travelled abroad. At different times, they visited the Rhine country, North Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Normandy, and British Columbia. The influence of travel is plainly seen in Dendy's writings.

In 1888, he built "Ewhurst", taking the name from a village in Sussex where the Dendy family held land in the seventeenth century. It was "a small house with a comparatively large garden, where he and his wife could enjoy the flowers they so much loved".

In 1894, after the death of her husband, his mother made her home with John Dendy. She lived twenty-eight years after her

husband's death, and took a deep interest in the Monton Church, with which she was connected from first to last for over sixty years. For long, she was President of the Women's Congregational Union. She died, 4 November, 1922, in her 92nd year.

An intimate friend of the Dendys was John Henry Poynting, D.Sc., F.R.S., son of the Monton minister, and one of the first professors at Mason College (afterwards Birmingham University). John Dendy speaks of him as "most gifted, most modest, best beloved", "my oldest and dearest friend", in whose home "some very happy times were spent". Poynting died 30 March, 1914.

Amidst the cares of an increasing practice, Dendy found leisure for much religious and public work. He was Lay Secretary of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, 1881-93, and a Vice-President until his death. For twenty years, 1904-24, he was a member of the Committee of Manchester College, Oxford. He was President of the Manchester District Association of Churches, 1884-5, of the Sunday School Association, 1898-9, of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Yorkshire, 1901, of which he was Treasurer from 1896 until his death. For some years he was on the Board of the Directors of the *Inquirer* and a Manager of the Sustentation Fund for the Augmentation of Ministers' Stipends. He was a Trustee of the Memorial Hall from February, 1894, and of the Hibbert Fund, 1909-24. A lover of children, he was Treasurer for many years of the Pendlebury Children's Hospital, and a warm supporter of the Manchester Domestic Mission.

Endowed with a keen intellect, stimulated by wide reading in many fields, he was wise in judgment, dignified and reverent, almost austere in demeanour. Reserved and incommunicative with strangers, he was nevertheless warm-hearted and compassionate. In theology, he followed his uncle, Charles Beard, rather than his grandfather, John Relly Beard, but had comparatively little interest in speculative questions of doctrine. In a paper, 24 March, 1878, addressed to ministers and theological students, on the subject of "Education in Matters of Practical Morality", he pleaded for "less attention to theological or metaphysical speculation and controversies, and more to matters relating to business life, amusements and social customs" on the part of ministers. At Monton, he was President of the Temperance Society, 1888-1913, and took a foremost part in the building of the Social Club in memory of those who took part in the Great War.

A born teacher, he gave much time and thought to Sunday School work, and for many years conducted the young men's class at Monton. His first-published volume (1897), a series of Essays, entitled *Successful Life*, "contains the substance of addresses" to his class. Its object was "to give a view of life—life with a purpose and meaning in it". Illustrations are drawn from literature and from foreign travel, and the whole forms an admirable survey of the objects of life. It wants but a spice of humour to make an ideal volume for the purpose it was intended to serve.

A second volume, dedicated "To my wife", *The Larger Life, A Way through Experience towards the Truth*, published in 1914, is a more ambitious effort. It is an attempt, by no means unsuccessful, to present a spiritual view of man and the universe, and owes much, as the writer acknowledges, to the writings of Lord Haldane, James Ward, William James, and Sir Henry Jones, though it is independent in thought and expression. That a busy layman, without philosophic training, should have made himself master of the science, theology and philosophy that lies behind it, is not the least surprising feature of the book.

Nothing Dendy said or wrote lacked thought, and a certain wistful and pensive note, but on occasion he could speak boldly and demand frankness of others. His addresses as President of the Sunday School Association, the Provincial Assembly, and the Manchester District Association of Churches, though necessarily slight, are characteristic of the man. In *The Sunday School Teacher as Social Reformer* (1897) he summoned his hearers to realise their responsibility as social workers in a society where gambling and immorality abounded, pleaded for "courage to speak out", for "clearness and vividness in the presentation of ugly facts", and speech expressive of a personal experience of God. In his Presidential Address (1894) at the inauguration of the "Forward Movement" amongst Manchester Churches, he put the searching question whether the "'Movement' was merely a question of policy, or a reality of inward life", and, in addressing the Provincial Assembly (1901), he pointed to the comparatively ineffectual protest of the churches against superstition, the organised liquor traffic, gambling, the worship of money, and spurious, vainglorious patriotism.

To the *Inquirer* (July–August, 1906) he contributed a series of six articles on his "Impressions of British Columbia", descriptive

of the natural scenery—lakes, rivers, mountains, and especially flowers. He visited an Indian village, and, amongst others, met trappers, students working in vacation, and a veteran officer of the old Federal Army. “The last spot to be visited was the scene of Wolfe’s death”, and the “last flowers gathered, around his simple monument”.

After a long illness, beginning in the spring of 1911, Mrs. Dendy died, 11 November, 1915, and a partnership was severed, which had been singularly serene. John Dendy found relief in sorrow by writing “A Memoir”, printed for private circulation. The closing words unveil the nature of the tie which death was powerless to loose.

“I finish this all too insufficient tribute on the evening of her birthday. . . . In a star-strewn sky, one splendid planet fronts the opened window, and bids gentle but firm defiance to the darkness. . . . A child of the light, she has passed into the fuller light, and her memory shines like that evening star.”

A volume, *Sonnets After Loss*, published in 1919, is expressive of the moods of a mourner, whose sorrow is mitigated by faith and illumined by hope. Not originally intended for the public eye, the Preface, dated November, 1918, links its publication with the end of the Great War.

“For many the splendours of our country’s victory will inevitably be clouded by tragic memories of loss. They have to make that hard passage through suffering and acquiescence towards peace and hope of which this volume contains some personal records.”

Fifty-two in all, the sonnets are in many forms, though most close with the rhymed couplet. Their elevated diction, continuity of thought or emotion, and sonority of phrase are undeniable.

After his wife’s death, John Dendy took up the threads of life afresh, but the shadows of days past never ceased to haunt his mind. Writing, 25 July, 1920, to a friend then in Switzerland, he said :

“Your most kind letter from Zermatt brought back many memories to me. . . . A most wonderful view one long day I remember alone with my wife on the Gorner Glacier, from far up down to the ice fall, studying all the interesting things there, and cutting a way through difficulties with my ice axe. It is all good and sad to look back upon. . . . I feel that I have had so much good out of life that I have no right to complain now.”

A little earlier, 19 June, 1920, writing from Hampstead, he discloses his interests and outlook :

"Yesterday, I came up to London for the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Hibbert Trust. . . . There was a particularly interesting speech from a Mr. Strong, an American Unitarian lawyer, who is over here representing the Unitarian Laymen's League. He threw a good deal of new light on the political position in America, and left us feeling much more hopeful about the ultimate attitude of that country towards the League of Nations. Then we had another interesting speech from the Dean of St. Paul's. . . . Things don't quiet down much here, though I think there are some signs of a returning common sense in the people. Every month that passes without anything like a revolutionary outbreak of a violent nature is real gain. Revolution, nevertheless, is going on, and we shall not return to the old state of things again."

Preoccupation with business, and prognostications about the future did not prevent Dendy turning his attention to his beloved garden. Writing, 9 October, 1920, he said :

"I am afraid the winter will be troublesome. . . . We are by no means safe about the coal strike yet. Even if we avoid the dangers threatened by the extremists, big changes are coming upon us, and an attitude of mere obstinate resistance is as hopeless as it is foolish. The time has come for changes. . . .

I am making some alterations in my garden, which is interesting work, but sometimes seems a little foolish at my time of life. Then I think of Stopford Brooke, who built a new house and began the cultivation of roses when he was about 80."

The closing words of a letter, 6 April, 1921, and the sentiments of the whole are characteristic of the writer.

"The anxiety is great. It is not quite certain whether the railway-men and the transport workers will join the miners, and stop work, but it seems only too likely. . . . Much that the men are doing is wrong and foolish, and the damage is so great, that one is apt to forget the real grievances they have had in times past, and how hard the lot of some of them has been. . . . You, at a distance, with time to think, will be able to come back to us with some hope and encouragement born from the steadfastness of the great mountains and the beauties of the spring flowers."

On 1 November, 1924, death came to John Dendy with little warning as he slept. It did not find him unprepared, for the contemplation of it was never far from his mind. The funeral

was conducted by his old friend and kinsman, the Rev. Dendy Agate, B.A., who had officiated at the funerals of his father and mother, and he was interred in the Monton chapelyard.

Dendy had been given the O.B.E. for services during the War. A tablet to his memory was unveiled at the Pendlebury Children's Hospital by Lord Colwyn, 8 December, 1924.



MARY DENDY

MARY DENDY, M.A.

(28 January, 1858—9 May, 1933)

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

MARY DENDY, second child of John and Sarah Dendy (*née* Beard), was born 28 January, 1855, at Bryn Celwyn, Mold, North Wales, during the temporary sojourn of her parents in the Principality, prior to her father's settlement as minister of the Presbyterian Chapel, High Street, Stourbridge. Here he remained until April, 1858, when he retired from the ministry, went into business, and settled at Patricroft, near Manchester. In that year may be said to have begun Mary Dendy's connection with the school and congregation at Monton, unbroken until her death, the name of Mary Dendy being the last of the family on the roll of Church members.

As a child, fond of reading, she treasured a volume, *Spectacles for Young Eyes*, given her by Grandfather Beard, 22 April, 1863, "on occasion of an important event", namely the first visit to a dentist. To him she presented, April, 1866, "her first piece of work", a bookmarker, followed a few months later by "a worked pair of slippers", whilst he, from the stores resulting from his foreign correspondence, enriched her collection of foreign stamps.

Her early education was received from her mother, assisted by a German governess. Mrs. Dendy had received an excellent education,¹ and, for a few years, had taught in her father's school at "Stony Knolls". As the daughter of one minister, and, still more as the wife of another, she became expert in domestic science, an acquaintance with which was to prove invaluable in later years to her daughter. During 1874-5, Mary Dendy was a student at Bedford College, founded in 1849, which "offered education without religious test". It was then in its original home in Bedford Square, London, but during the year removed to York Place, Baker Street. Mary Dendy took up her residence there, 13 January, 1874. As the oldest girl boarding in the College, she sat next the presiding lady at meals, and notes in her Diary that "word

¹ See pp. 110-11, 116.

was passed to me to drink my tea quickly, because the other girls were not to pass their cups until I had finished ". She took classes in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, French, Latin, English Literature, and Music, and benefited greatly from the teaching of men like Professors Hales and Beesley. On Sundays, she attended Little Portland Street Chapel, and frequently analysed the sermons of the minister, the Rev. Philip Henry Wicksteed.

From 1872 to 1881, except for the year in London, she was a teacher in the Sunday School at Monton, and took a prominent part in the work of the Temperance Society. Much of her leisure was given to writing verse and fiction.

The first considerable product of her pen, "Edith : A Story", appeared in the *Novelette*, published by Remington & Co., in the summer of 1878, and earned £40. In January, 1879, half a dozen poems were set to music and published by a firm of music publishers in London, and a poem appeared in the Christmas number of the *Rock*, A Church of England Family Newspaper. Work for which she received no remuneration consisted in Sunday School Lessons published in *Teachers' Notes*, edited by the Rev. F. E. Millson of Halifax, her brother John's former schoolmaster.

When it appeared as though her lot was settled as that of a daughter in a comfortable middle-class home, her father's business venture came to an unfortunate end ; as he contemplated re-entering the ministry (which he did in 1883), she faced the necessity of the situation and left Manchester to take up an appointment in the country.

On Whit-Sunday, 1885, she recalled her earlier associations with the Sunday School at Monton :

" I remember my Whit-Sundays of old, when I used to marshal my Sunday School children, and take them into Manchester to join the thousand others at the Free Trade Hall for worship. How tired I used to get, and how I enjoyed it, and how important I thought myself ? But the children go still, and they do very well without me, and I am down here in the country."

LIFE IN THE COUNTRY

On 13 June, 1882, at the age of 27, Mary Dendy took up her residence, as companion to Miss Cawston, at Folly House,¹ High Garrett, a hamlet three miles north of Braintree, Essex.

¹ Now " Foley House ", an estate of 70 acres, 5 acres garden, offered for sale 19 September, 1934.

Sarah Ann Cawston (1839-89) was the adopted daughter of Samuel Courtauld (1793-1881), of Gosfield Hall. The great-grandson of a Huguenot refugee who came to England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Samuel Courtauld was the senior member of a firm of crape manufacturers at Halstead, Braintree, and Bocking. A unitarian in religion and a liberal in politics, for sixteen years (1839-55) he carried on litigation against compulsory Church Rates, which in the House of Lords was crowned with success.

Miss Cawston was a charming lady bountiful, and, in a letter to Mary Dendy, 23 April, 1882, said: "I have not much fear but that we shall be able to work out a good, useful life together." She had the same convictions as Samuel Courtauld, and continued his benevolent work. He had opened, 28 June, 1850, a small day school in High Garrett, of which the master in the eighties was a Mr. Chamberlain. In this schoolroom, a Sunday School was held in the morning, and, from 1853, under the title of "United Christians", a small congregation of simple-minded villagers assembled for worship in the afternoon.

On 13 September, 1857, John Robertson, the minister at High Garrett, had preached the first sermon in a building close to Courtauld's works at Halstead, henceforth designated the Free Christian Church. From that time on the two congregations shared a minister between them, and were maintained, until his death, by Samuel Courtauld.

During Mary Dendy's stay at High Garrett, the ministers were Alexander MacDougall, 1875-86, John Briggs Lloyd, 1886-89, and Arthur Ellis O'Connor, B.D., 1889-91. The minister and schoolmaster were familiar figures at Folly House, and, in turn, were honoured by an occasional call from the ladies there, upon whose support, in more ways than one, they were largely dependent.

Halstead, with a population of some five thousand, was a market town, and had its cottage hospital, erected in 1884. On 26 November, 1888, playing fields in the neighbourhood were presented to the towns of Bocking and Braintree, by Sydney Courtauld, nephew of Samuel Courtauld. In her *Diary*, Mary Dendy notes their opening: "We saw Mrs. Sydney plant the tree, and then went up to the Luncheon at the Corn Exchange. Sir Evelyn Wood was in the Chair. Mr. Sydney spoke very nicely. The town was decorated and illuminated. Torchlight procession."

High Garrett could not boast such revels. It had a post office,

but little more in the way of public buildings. The little school-room was the scene of most of its activities, and Folly House its nerve centre. Samuel Courtauld, however, had established in the village Coffee Rooms, Dispensary and a Home for Girls, which Miss Cawston supported.

Near to Folly House was a well-stocked farm, which, when the tenancy expired, Miss Cawston took over, at least nominally, into her own hands, and thereby enlarged the sphere of Mary Dendy's interests and activities.

After assisting in the Sunday School for some time, Mary Dendy took charge of it, 1 February, 1885, with its fifty to sixty children. The congregation, hitherto an assembly of hearers under a benevolent autocracy, was organized on the more democratic model of churches in the North, by the introduction of membership, and an elected Chapel Committee, of which Mary Dendy was a leading spirit. A congregational party, 23 November, 1888, attracting 75 people, "who *paid* for admission", attested the growth of self-help in the little village flock. Mary Dendy organised the School Plays, one of which she wrote, and took part therein. One, "Chimney Corner", "was a great success, drew a jolly audience that shouted with laughter", and was produced four times. She conducted a sewing-class for girls, and established "a club for elder scholars and teachers", of which "the first meeting was held at Folly House", when Miss Cawston, as a matter of course, was elected President. She checked the accounts of the Coffee House, Day School and Farm, managed the domestic staff at the House, rendered first aid to field workers in distress, and, in general, acted as bailiff or factor on the estate and as secretary or confidante of its mistress.

At Folly House were spent seven of the happiest years of Mary Dendy's life. She enjoyed to the full the sights, scents and sounds of the countryside, the tasks to which she gave herself wholeheartedly, and the close companionship of a lady of whom, in her *Diary*, she speaks with affection.

One day, she finds a lark's nest in the clover field, the next, a wren's in the haystack. Often she is alone with the flowers, the birds, and the bees. Her time is spent in a hundred different ways—in summer and autumn gathering honey, blackberries or mushrooms, paying calls and driving round the country, playing tennis, attending flower shows, reading in the open, or enjoying the company of her dumb friends the horses and dogs. In winter and

spring there is skating, the tending of young life on the farm, and the errands of mercy to those in need. She assists in the reception of visitors in the drawing-room, or gives cookery lessons to indifferent pupils in the kitchen. A few extracts from her *Diary* illustrate her manner of life.

“ *Whit Sunday, 24 May, 1885.*

To-day has been a White-Sunday to me. It began tamely enough. I wrote quietly all the morning, then dined and came back here. I sat in the garden then, and even dozed a little. But something has come back to me that I feared I had lost—the power of being happy with a book. The book in this instance is *Marius the Epicurean*, by Walter Pater. It is a wonderful book, and contains descriptions of the old philosophies, that appeal to me strangely. What could be a better rule for life than that contained in these words: ‘Imitation is the most acceptable part of worship, and the Gods had much rather mankind should resemble them than flatter them. Make sure that those to whom you come nearest be the happier at least by your presence.’ But this lost power is not all. It has been a most beautiful evening, and there has been a sort of change in me as well as in the weather. I have been so content, so happy, and out of doors has been so lovely. I love this old walled garden, and the lawn with its yew hedge, and the inner walled garden, with its ivy-covered doors and quaint, box-edged formal beds. There is a thrush’s nest in the ivy; the young birds are nearly ready to fly. The flowers seemed happy in the sunshine, a great blue iris came out while I was at tea. Had I been standing there, I might have seen it open. The ground is white with fallen cherry blossoms, but the apple-blossom is still on the trees, and the bees were so busy in it this evening. The lilac bushes are drowned in purple blossom; the scarlet and white May are coming out, the laburnums begin to look like golden fountains . . .”

Here is the record of a winter’s day :

“ 1887. 20 *January*. Lovely day, bright and cold. We drove to Bocking and Braintree in the morning to see the flood caused by the rapid melting of the snow. The crape mills were flooded, so that the people could not go to work. Called at Sunnyfield in the afternoon, and heard the boys say their parts. Sewing class in the evening. Julia came to dinner.”

The many parts played by Mary Dendy are seen from two entries in 1889.

“ 7 *June*. Very hot day. Finished lesson for Mr. Bowie, and sent it. Did Farm accounts. Busy all morning. Went to see Water Lilies in Fish Pond after lunch with Miss Cawston. Was busy darning my stockings when Canon and Mrs. Cromwell came.

Changed dress, and changed again when they were gone, and went down to the Farm."

" 28 *June*. Nice busy day. Wrote to Mother and Aunt Minnie. Mended Walter's socks. Packed flowers for Bee Powell. Wrote to Mrs. Lowe. Took in the last week's dairy money. Saw the last load of hay out of the field. Charles went to Windsor to see the great show. Miss Johnstone came in the afternoon."

The joys and sorrows of life accompanying its ever unbroken order—birth, marriage, death—were the concern, if not in equal measure, of each and all in High Garrett. Occasionally, the more or less regular sequence of events was broken by the seemingly extraordinary or the comparatively rare. The first installation of electric light in the neighbourhood, at Mr. Sydney Courtauld's, 15 May, 1885, aroused some curiosity, and no small commotion was caused by the General Election in the following November, which brought the Conservative candidate to a meeting in High Garrett and the Liberal to show his face there on the day of the poll, whilst the County Council Election, 15 January, 1889, "set all the men and horses at work" in support of Mr. Sydney Courtauld, who was returned.

There were no motor-cars, no wireless, no gramophones, but these amenities of the twentieth century were not missed, and their absence was not without its compensations. In the winter evenings there were cards, music, and much mending. In the "fifties" a little literary coterie, The Owlet Society, had been formed, with which Miss Cawston and her friends were associated. It met periodically, and circulated a "Packet", containing papers written by the members. Their titles suggest that the name of the society betokened a modicum of wisdom with a minimum of solemnity. In March, 1885, Mary Dendy was admitted to the charmed circle, and contributed a number of light essays on such subjects as "Two Years Ago", "The Theatre", and an occasional story of her own composition. In December, 1885, her protest in the "Packet" against an article on Disestablishment from the Anglican point of view elicited a letter, 16 February, 1886, from a lady, "the Oldest Owlet" (entered 1861), sympathising with her remarks whilst defending the establishment. She concluded with the words: "I know I address one whose words will one day be before the public, and whose thoughts deserve to be so."

Under the pseudonym of "Mary Dryden", Mary Dendy

published a novel, " Only a Business Man ", in *All The Year Round*, a journal founded by Charles Dickens, and then edited by his son of the same name, to whom it had been bequeathed. The arrival of the first proofs, 27 April, 1885, was an event of some importance. The story was published in book form in 1910, and dedicated " To my friend, S. W. Warren, in grateful remembrance of a long friendship." Sarah Wilhelmina Warren (1835-1924) was the granddaughter of Samuel Courtauld. Of Huguenot descent on one side, and on the other descended from John Warren, ordained minister at the Great Meeting, Coventry, in 1699, she was in early days a friend of Joseph Chamberlain, and always a zealous Unitarian. Mary Dendy found in her a staunch friend, whose hospitality she enjoyed for many years, when in London. " Mr. Franks " in the story was the Rev. T. E. Poynting of Monton, and " Lorton Chapel " was the old chapel there, opened 1802, containing " the bell which summoned the folks for worship in the very first chapel built on that site, when the congregation was founded by one of the 2,000 ministers ejected from the Church for conscience' sake ". The Chapel had been replaced by the present handsome structure in 1875. The story is Lancashire in scene, character, and to some extent in speech. In her preface to it, Mary Dendy said : " I am told that my story is old-fashioned. That is true. Perhaps there may be some old-fashioned people left who will like it on that account."

A reference in her *Diary*, 7 June, 1889, to " lesson for Mr. Bowie " conceals much literary effort. The Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, afterwards, 1892-1921, secretary of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, was editor of a monthly magazine, *The Sunday School Helper*, 1885-93. To this journal, then and much later, Mary Dendy was one of the most regular and valued contributors. In 1886, she published in its pages a series of six articles, entitled " Lessons for the Little Ones ", and a similar series of the same length and title in 1887. In them she turned to good account her acquaintance with farm life. Most of the characters are inhabitants of the farmyard—ducks, dogs, pigeons, pigs, birds, and squirrels—whose language is interpreted and brought into relation with the speech and habits of the children in the narrative. The articles were reprinted as the " Other Stories " in *Dick and Dandy, And Other Stories*, illustrated by Vera Ellen Dendy, her niece, in 1911. In 1889, appeared in the *Helper* seven articles from her pen on " Girls, Their Duties, Difficulties and Desires ", and three

more on the same subject in the following year. To complete the story of her connection with the *Helper*, it may be added that in addition to articles and addresses in 1893, 1895, 1896, in 1897 she contributed a simple serial story "for very little ones", which ran through that year and most of the next. In 1888, *Notes for Teachers* was published by the Sunday School Association which was responsible for the journal, and on 25 May, 1889, she read a paper on "Old-Fashioned Sunday Schools" at its annual meeting.

Life at Folly House was not only enlivened by these literary exercises, but also relieved by migrations elsewhere. Residence in the country for gentlefolk within easy reach of London meant regular visits to the Metropolis for shopping and entertainment. Miss Cawston had many friends there upon whose hospitality she could always count, and for Mary Dendy there was the added attraction there of an old and much loved friend, Miss Nelly McKee, a relative of Samuel Courtauld and the daughter of the Rev. J. R. McKee, one-time assistant to John Rely Beard in his school at "Stony Knolls", Manchester.

One result of these excursions to 'Town was that during her life in the country, or a little later, Mary Dendy saw most of the leading actors of the period. Amongst these were Mary Anderson in "Pygmalion and Galatea" and "The Winter's Tale", Henry Irving in "Macbeth", Forbes Robertson in "Lady of Lyons", Mr. and Mrs. Kendal in "The Ironmaster", John Hare in "A Pair of Spectacles", Wilson Barrett in "The Sign of the Cross", George Wyndham in "Sowing and Reaping", Pinero's "Profligate", Ibsen's "Doll's House", and the Gilbert and Sullivan Operas.

There were also the delightful trips abroad, seven in all between 1882 and 1889. Switzerland was visited four times, Italy twice, and the Riviera once. The records of her visits to Italy afford evidence of her interests and of her reactions to the contrasts between the past and the present—the memorials and monuments of the artistic creative age and the squalor of the United Kingdom in the throes of industrial development.

At Rome, she found "only one thing more plentiful than priests, viz. friars in blue and black and white and brown flower-girls in their national costumes". Her first visit to the capital (March, 1883) inspired the composition of a poem expressive of her feelings, which was published in an English magazine. It ended with an attack of typhoid and several weeks' illness.

Her last visit to Switzerland during this period (13-28 August, 1889) was cut short by the indisposition of Miss Cawston, which developed into a serious illness on her return home, and terminated, 17 November, with her death. Her desolate companion wrote : " I have nothing to wish for but to remember her."

Mary Dendy did not forget. She almost invariably mentioned her in her *Diary* on the last day of the year, and, twenty-five years after her death, wrote : " Oh, my dear, if you could see me now, would you feel content that I am doing all I can. Good night, my dear Miss Cawston."

After the death of her friend, Mary Dendy carried out her wishes. On 16 December, 1889, " she went to the School to say Good-bye, and to the Chapel ". Next day, she " gave the poor women their clothing tickets and the men their guernseys " and visited the grave in Bocking Cemetery. On 17 December, she " left Folly House for always ", and fourteen days later, on the last day of the year, wrote in her *Diary* : " The Old Year died. And all my love and hope and joy died with it." It was not so, but so it truly seemed. Had Miss Cawston lived to attain the psalmist's allotted span, Mary Dendy might well have spent not seven but twenty and seven years in the country. Life in congenial surroundings with Miss Cawston might have spared her much anxiety and fatigue of body and mind, but England would have been incalculably poorer in philanthropic enterprise and Manchester would have missed the inspiration of her high-minded citizenship.

Some visible memorials of her " life in the country " remained with her to the end of life—the blue and gold china clock she had known so well in the drawing-room at Folly House, and two old brass candlesticks.

PERIOD OF PROBATION

After leaving High Garrett with a heavy heart, 17 December, 1889, Mary Dendy spent Christmastide with her brother at " Ewhurst ", finding cheer in the company of friends and consolation in the religious services at Monton.

On 20 January, 1890, she left for London to take up duties as tutor to the daughter of Miss Cawston's former medical adviser. Shortly afterwards, on a visit to her parents at Newport, Isle of Wight, she made the acquaintance of Professor Henry Morley, an intimate friend of her father, then living in retirement at Carisbrooke. He gave her the free use of his library of 12,000 volumes,

some valuable hints on the teaching of English Literature, and lent her his lecture notes on Wordsworth for use with her pupil. Amongst the subjects she taught was German, in which language the doctor joined his daughter as pupil. By midsummer she found, however, that "her plans were not turning out as she could wish", and resolved to make a change at the end of the year.

On medical advice, with the help of a loan for the passage money from her brother John, she left England for Australia, 9 January, 1891, on a visit to her brother Arthur.¹ She remained there until 5 August, and on 19 September was again in Newport. A visit to London friends followed, and, 1 October, 1891, she was present at the first meeting of the Folk Lore Society, when Andrew Lang gave the address, and she was introduced to Edward Clodd. Two days later, in Oxford, she heard Professor Tylor lecture, and next day sat at the feet of Frederic Harrison. Whenever opportunity offered, she spared no effort to enlarge her intellectual horizon and increase her knowledge of life and letters.

She came to Manchester, 12 October, and went into residence at 140 Upper Brook Street, with Miss Day, Head Mistress of the Girls' High School, with whom her sister Sarah Louisa (Louie) lived. Whilst here, she improved her French by taking lessons from Mademoiselle Talguen.

Sarah Louisa Dendy (8 October, 1856—27 March, 1931) was a teacher at the Girls' High School, whose exceptional linguistic gifts were recognised (1919) by the conferment upon her of the honorary degree of M.A. by Manchester University. She was deeply interested in social welfare, and, for a time, lived in the Model Dwellings at Ancoats in order to gain first-hand knowledge of the life of the poor. Though sharing many ideals in philanthropy and social service, and for long resident in the same city, the two spinster sisters were far from being twin spirits. Divided by religious opinion, the younger having embraced orthodoxy, and both possessed of strong personalities with little love of compromise in practice, they tended to drift apart as the years passed, though there was no formal breach in their relations, and, at bottom, no lack of affection on either side. Together they spent several holidays in Switzerland, and both took an active part in the work of the Collyhurst Recreation Rooms, founded by their uncle, James Rait Beard.

As early as 29 October, 1890, Mary Dendy attended the Girls'

¹ See pp. 149 ff.

Club, when she took in hand 90 girls, "very rough and very enjoyable". The connection with Collyhurst thus formed was continued for many years. Whenever she was in Manchester, she promptly put in an appearance there, and, during her residence in the city, was one of the most conscientious and capable of helpers. The work was not without its compensations. On 8 November, 1895, the 48 boys in her charge, she said, "comforted me a good deal". What was more, Collyhurst proved a valuable training for future career, and it was a girl there of defective intellect and irrepressible conduct that first directed her attention to the crying need for special treatment of the feeble-minded.

Girls and boys, however, did not monopolise her care. On 9 November, 1896, she addressed Collyhurst mothers on "The Training of Children". When much engaged with other duties and suffering from ill-health, she was advised by her doctor to give up some of her work at Collyhurst. In her *Diary*, she wrote, 8 November, 1896: "I did not say I would then, but later concluded to drop my little boys' class, lest I should have to give up all. I am very sorry."

On 5 December, 1900, she resigned her position as a regular teacher, and, 20 April, 1903, her membership of the Committee, but, to the end of life, her interest in the institution remained unbroken. In an address, "Union and Work", May, 1923, to the Collyhurst Guild for Social Service, as it was then called, she mentioned that she took up the work, 14 October, 1891, and started the "Club for small boys, 13 November". She closed with the remark: "We live in troubled times; many things are changing. It is such Unions as ours that will keep our nation safe. For the everlasting truths do not change—truth and honour, justice and mercy, love and fellowship."

On 13 April, 1892, Mary Dendy was elected by Rusholme to a seat on the Manchester Board of Guardians, but in order to avoid threatened legal proceedings on a technical point, she resigned nine days later. On 4 August, she again went to the poll, and was rejected.

On 12 October, 1892, she became secretary of the South Manchester Women's Liberal Association. On 16 November, at a Suffrage Meeting, she met, for the first time, Mrs. Fawcett, whom she found "very kind and encouraging", and, next day, she was in the company of Mrs. Humphry Ward, afterwards conspicuous for her opposition to the Suffrage Movement. Addressing a

Women's Suffrage meeting a little later, Mary Dendy referred to Mrs. Ward as "one, whose name is well known in the literary world, and who is content to use all the force of a fluent—if not very logical pen—in violent vituperation of the more thoughtful and less selfish members of her sex", adding, "She writes as if the world was divided into two halves; one, comfortably furnished and pleasantly secluded, for the modest, good, and amiable, a kind of palace of the sleeping beauty, not ever doing anything so improper as opening her eyes, until the Prince came, nor even then unless he be the right Prince; and the other, a wilderness, into which if any woman stray, either of free will or necessity, it serves her right that howling wolves should come and devour her". Mary Dendy had her eyes always open, knew intimately "the wilderness" with its trials and temptations, and cherished no illusions about "palaces of sleeping beauties".

Towards the end of the year, there came a call to her from home. Acceptance of it meant turning her back upon valued friends, agreeable pursuits, and the prospect, now opening out to her, of a public career in the city. At 1 a.m., New Year's Day, 1893, she wrote in her *Diary*: "I will try to do rightly and unselfishly, and to put away all harmful thoughts. I will try to use the New Year, not to waste it", adding next day, "I have written to Father about going home to live. I have made the offer, and, if it be accepted, I will go cheerfully and quietly, and do my best. After all, we can but live once."

Soon after settling at Newport, Isle of Wight, she went to stay with London friends, and, 2 March, 1893, paid her first visit to the House of Commons, under the guidance of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Philip Manfield, M.P., for Northampton, the donor (1896) of the new Unitarian church in that town.

"I arrived", she says, "in a hansom cab at two. All the notabilities except Chamberlain were present (we left at 11 just before he came)—Gladstone, Harcourt, Morley, Asquith, Sir Charles Russell, Sir Henry James, Balfour, Lowther, Sir Charles Dilke, Labouchère and all the Irish members. Gladstone looked very old, when sitting down, but wonderfully forcible and quick, on his feet. After dinner, Mr. Manfield took me to see all the House, and especially the Crypt, which he had lit up for me. We stayed nine hours."

During April, 1893, Mary Dendy confessed that she was "very very unhappy, with all the old sadness back upon me". Life at Newport she found tame and trying, with little outlet for her

energy, and, from lack of incident, several pages of her *Diary* were left blank. A nervous breakdown followed in July, and it was arranged that she should pay a second visit to Australia in November. "The year", she wrote at its close, "has been full of illness and unhappiness", and she greeted 1894 "with less hope and less expectation than last year. I shall be very much surprised if any good thing come into my life, but I will live so that my life shall be good to others."

During her "period of probation", Mary Dendy did not neglect her pen. She continued to contribute to the *Sunday School Helper*. On 13 February, 1890, she wrote a paper on Theseus for an Oxford University Extension lecture; sent three poems, 19 January, 1892, to the *Tatler*, and others, 20 March, 1893, to *Chambers Journal*. She attempted, 10 March, 1893, and again later, to answer Mrs. Lynn Linton's views of Women in the *Nineteenth Century* and the *National Review*. Much time and thought was given to a novel, "Flies in Amber", completed, 23 April, 1893, and offered in vain to *All the Year Round* and to Mr. Fisher Unwin. It was never published.

On 30 July, 1894, she landed in England after the journey to Australia and New Zealand.¹ On 12 October, she again settled in Manchester, taking rooms at 16 Clyde Road, Didsbury. Next month, she was appointed secretary to the Society for Women's Guardians. From 1 August to 13 September, 1895, she was in Switzerland on holiday with her sister Louie.

In January, 1896, Canon H. D. Rawnsley enlisted her pen in the service of his scheme for the preservation of the beauties of the Lake District. Two years later she finished a book for children, published in May, 1898, under the title of *Dick and Dandy*, illustrated by A. and K. Hughes and H. P. Templar.

Meanwhile, she continued her interest in education and the condition of the poor, her *Diary* containing records of numerous visits to Workhouses, Cottage Homes, Model Dwellings, and Industrial Schools in various towns, whilst addresses on Education, Women's Suffrage, Sunday School work, and Domestic Economy followed one another in regular succession.

On 24 February, 1896, she was elected a member of the Manchester School Board, in succession to Mrs. C. P. Scott, wife of the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, who had resigned. "Mr. Broadfield", she wrote, "made an appointment to meet me and

¹ pp. 152 ff.

coach me.” Of this excellent public-spirited man, she proved an apt pupil. From the beginning, she took her work seriously, and, next month, in the company of Mr. C. H. Wyatt, Clerk to the Board, began the visitation of her eight schools, spending a full morning at each.

The Education Bill of this year provided her, in common with other stalwart progressives, with a challenge eagerly accepted, and from April to June, when the Bill was withdrawn, she was busy exposing its defects on the platform. In 1896 and 1897, she made the acquaintance of two women, whose public spirit resembled her own, though they were not called, as she was, to face the spectre of Giant Despair—Mrs. S. A. Barnett, the gifted wife of the Warden of Toynbee Hall, and Miss Octavia Hill, the pioneer in Housing Reform.

Mary Dendy’s domestic life was more chequered and less peaceful than her public life. Residence in rooms for a woman of culture and sensibilities is always less tolerable than for a business or professional man. Several changes having been made in a fruitless attempt to find the perfect landlady, she finally set up house at 13 Clarence Road, Withington, and grappled, not always successfully, with the problem of help in the home.

During 1897, she gave much time to work for the Manchester District Association of Churches and their Bazaar, organised by the “Forward Movement”, in which other members of her family were interested. The discovery was now made by various ministers in the district that a woman who could speak effectively on a platform might have something to say worth hearing from a pulpit, and Mary Dendy found herself much in request for addresses at Sunday School Anniversaries—those “red-letter days” of non-conformist chapels in the North.

The celebrations of the Diamond Jubilee year passed almost unnoticed in her *Diary*. Other matters engaged her attention. It was in this month (June) she began her examination of defective children in the Manchester schools. Her contacts with the children for a time proved a source of distress; “very sad, hard work”, she called it, but the period of probation was over. Its discipline had been bitter, but not in vain, and, at the age of 42, she had found her true vocation.

TRAVEL

The generosity of friends, the residence of one brother in the Antipodes and of another in Canada, the demands of her special

studies, and the frequent need for change and rest combined to induce Mary Dendy to travel much and far during half a century. Most of the American journey of 1909, like the brief visit to Germany in 1904, belongs to the story of her work as an educational pioneer. The visits to Australasia and to Canada have an interest of their own.

On her first visit to Australia (9 January—19 September, 1891), on board the boat she met Miss Hogarth, Dickens' sister-in-law, and "found her amusing but queer". At Malta, they went ashore together. She did the same at Brindisi, Aden, Colombo, and Albany. At Adelaide, she spent a little time with a cousin and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Dendy, whom she afterwards visited at Walhalla. Writing to a friend in London, 11 April, 1891, from "Walhalla, Stringer's Creek, Gippsland, Victoria", she describes her journey to this secluded spot.

"You have a fancy for odd names; what so you think of that? I like it. It seems 'out-of-the-worldly', as the place itself is." "I left St. Kilda on the 10th at 7 a.m., with my little portmanteau and a bundle of rugs." After a long railway journey "through the forest—Gum trees and Gum trees and nothing but Gum trees", "in many places for miles all brown and scorched or bare poles—the result of bush fires, we stopped at Warragula, and I felt for the first time since I landed as though I were in a foreign country. The heat was tremendous, and it was quite cold when I left in the morning."

After changing trains at Taralgon, she reached Toongablie, "the end of my railway journey"—"a flat clearance in the forest at the foot of the Gippsland hills, with the beginning of a street and a wooden hotel. . . . There are no Inns here, only Hotels. I suppose Australians name their buildings not for what they are, but for what they may become. I was to lunch here. . . . The table cloth was black with flies. . . . I looked at the seething mass, and then found my way into the kitchen. . . . I put on my very sweetest manners, and asked if it were possible for me to have a cup of tea and some bread and butter brought to me on the verandah. The cup, of a different pattern from the saucer, was very dirty. I made the best of it, and had just finished my meagre meal when the coach came up. Such a coach! A sort of square cart, with wooden roof and canvas walls, drawn by four horses, and driven by a boy of sixteen. I made a frantic but unavailing effort to take the box seat, which had been reserved for me. It was seized by two men. The inside was partly filled by the various bundles and 'swags' belonging to myself and my fellow-passengers. Such passengers! . . . but I could not walk 25 miles up hill, so I clambered in." She found the rough looking men "perfectly civil, kind, and obliging".

“What a drive ! The road was absolutely unmade, and the ruts in it were half the depth of the wheels. In the wet season, the coach is often logged. *We* were half smothered in dust. Now and then, we stuck ; the driver got down, became vociferous, and, after a while, we moved slowly on again. . . . The road got much steeper as we went on. It was a ‘corduroy’ road, i.e. trunks of trees laid close together. . . . Sometimes the road round the gullies was cut out of the face of the mountain, and we looked down upon wonderful vegetation, tree-ferns, often 30 feet high, beautiful grasses, ferns and reeds in great variety. Once we passed a tilted wagon full of people going down, and, as we were on the outside, had to draw up close to the edge and wait. Later on, we met several drags with a team of 8 or 10 horses, but we had more space, and there was less risk of our rolling over into the river . . . At Brunton, we took up mails . . . When it grew dark, I wearied. I had no confidence in the driver. . . . It was the first time he had driven the coach. After any worse jolt than usual, he would look round with a cheerful, ‘Are you all there inside?’ . . . We saw very little in the way of birds and animals, but once some beautiful red and blue parrots flew on to the road, and there were some pretty tiny ‘fire birds’ with red spots on their heads and tails. Our last stopping-place outside Walhalla was at the ‘Happy’ (short for Happy-go-Lucky Mine). . . . We saw only one considerable piece of water on the way, when we crossed the Thomson on a rather pretty light iron bridge. . . . It was after seven and quite dark, and I was glad to get indoors. . . . This house is just a six-roomed wooden cottage ; one story high, built on a patch of ground scooped out of the side of the hill which towers steeply above it. We are about 3,000 feet up here, in a valley, so narrow that there is barely room for the stream (Stringer’s Creek), a road and a cottage on each side. . . . There is a kitchen, which, like the sitting-room, has a big open fireplace (such a nice wood fire), no grates. The cooking is done mostly in an oven out of doors. . . . Everything is very nice, and so nicely served. . . .”

Writing 15 April, she says :

“Walhalla, though at present *the* town of the ranges, possessing a Bank, a post-office, a Church, wine shops, a Wesleyan and a Roman Catholic Chapel, and a Mechanics’ Institute, is likely to disappear before many years are over. The claims are being worked out, and it depends entirely on the mines for its existence. . . . I wish I could describe to you how lovely it is. . . . These endless woods give one a strange feeling of solitariness. I feel that I have indeed come to the very edge of civilization, when I am told that I cannot go in this or the other direction, because there is no way ; no one has ever been there, and the scrub is absolutely impassable. . . . The scrub consists of a great variety of shrubs, many of them sweet-scented, flowering gums ; wattle trees, a sort of acacia of a most

delicate green, and, where the land is poor, grass-trees. The grass-trees are so graceful ; they grow as the tree ferns do, but with grass instead of fern, falling out from the top of the stem in a sort of fountain ; shaded from creamy white in the centre through every tone of green to the darkest. They have a very pleasant resinous smell. They always grow in patches, great numbers together, and the effect is beautiful. . . . The cricket field is high up the hills, and when they ' slog ' the ball, it goes straight down into the town. A year or two ago, a cow fell off the mountain-side and broke right through the roof of a house below. The cow was not hurt, but they had to take the end of the house down to get her out ! . . . There are not many cows here. We use goats' milk. . . . I like this place. There is room for everybody ; one can breathe. I have only to open the door, and I have all the mountains. I could mark out a claim on any one of these lovely hills, and take out a miner's right, which would cost me about half a crown a year, and I could build my house, and no one would meddle with me. . . . Almost all the men who cut the wood are Swiss ; they like these mountains. . . . We came down from the mountain by Gibson's track. Gibson died in the mountain, and there is nothing of him now but the track, down which with much difficulty they carried his coffin slung on a pole. . . ."

18 April. . . . " It is like living in a story to be inside of life in the Creek. I never have seen, or shall see again, anything like it. . . . On Saturday, we went out on the Toom Bon track, and got as far as Polly Cooteses. I had not known what Polly Cooteses was ; she might have been a mine, or a mountain, or an Inn. Polly is an old woman who keeps a ' shanty ', an unlicensed grog shop on the road to Toom Bon—there is only one other dwelling between here and that place, a distance of 25 miles. Polly is a queer old body, very voluble and amusing, and not very refined ; but her shanty was spotlessly clean. She has only two rooms, and the chimney in the outer room was nearly as big as the house itself—a high chimney built of clay covered with canvas. . . . She asked about the old country. She is rich, and could go home if she liked, but she ' could not fancy herself living anywhere but up there '. . . . While at the Shanty, we heard a noise like thunder. . . . We found the cause when we got about a mile away—a great tree had fallen across the track, bringing a small one with it. It had been partly burnt through in a recent brush fire. . . . Once or twice on our way we heard the call of the native pheasant, or lyre-bird. . . ."

On 29 April, Mary Dendy describes how she was awakened early in the morning by shouting.

" Everything was crimson with the glow of fire . . . the school-house about 200 yards down the road was burning." . . . There follows an account of a walk up the mountain " Baw Baw ". . . .

" We hear the laughing jackass and the rustle of the mountain

bear in the bracken. . . . Pip, the dog, put up five parrots—long-tailed green ones. They do not fly far, but sit on a branch and jabber at us. . . . Then we see a brilliant bird, who calls himself a robin, but bears very little resemblance to our bird—his waistcoat is the wrong colour. . . . We cut across by the lagoon—such a dreary, sad-looking piece of water in the crater of an extinct volcano. . . . The fern is as high as I am, and whips me in the face. We climb over fallen trunks, and trip on crags. . . . We find a fence, climb this and come on an old track on the other side, and in the mud the marks of a horse's feet. . . . Now we spent an hour struggling up the hill; once we stop to look at a black snake lying coiled up with his beady black eyes. . . . It is a very poisonous one, so Ellen kills it with my stick. It is about three feet long. . . . So we have been on Baw Baw, and in the wildest country I have ever seen. . . . Have I told you of the white ant-hills that form such a remarkable feature of the landscape hereabouts. They are great solid cones of yellow clay, from five to six feet in height. The black ants build loose hills of the Eucalyptus berries, and are rather formidable, being sometimes $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch long . . .”

On 20 April she went down a Gold Mine.

Mary Dendy returned to Melbourne, 1 May. She visited Ballarat, 13 May, “a very fine city, but uninteresting”. At Queen's University, Melbourne, she heard Mr. A. S. Way (11 July) read passages from his translation of the *Iliad*, illustrated by tableaux and, two days later, heard her brother lecture to Field Naturalists. Now and again, she spent time on the beach with her brother “picking up sea-beasties”. In Melbourne, she also heard Sir Charles and Lady Hallé, the famous Manchester musicians. She left the city, 3 July, and at Adelaide again made a short stay. She attended the Unitarian Church, and heard, in the evening, the Rev. C. L. Whitham, an old pupil of John Relly Beard, who afterwards became a Government Inspector of Schools. On the voyage home, she cultivated a friendship with Bishop and Mrs. Selwyn, whom she visited later in London, and found “very agreeable”.

The second visit to Australia, 10 November, 1893—30 July, 1894, was again eventful, for, in consequence of her brother's appointment to a post at the University, Christchurch, she spent a couple of months in New Zealand. The journey there from Australia, 29 January—5 February, was very disagreeable. “The ship was detestable, dirty and full of fleas. . . . The weather also was bad, and on the 3rd I had to turn out at 4 a.m., because my bed was so wet.” On 27 February she visited the Otira Gorge. The journey is described in a letter to her mother, 4 March, 1894.

“ We got away by the train, leaving for Springfield at 7.50 a.m., arriving at 12.30. It had been snowing, and when we first approached the mountains, they were still all covered with snow. . . . The end of an 80-miles drive took us within eight hours of Okatika. . . . We dined at Springfield, and then began our drive. There were two coach-loads of passengers ; Mr. Cassidy the proprietor took us on his. . . . He has a farm at Springfield, 1,000 acres half corn and half grass. . . . Cassidy & Young carry the mails between Christchurch and Okatika, and have 75 horses at different stables along the road. We made our journey in five stages, and so had 25 horses to take us up. Each coach has five horses ; two wheelers and three leaders, & the three are harnessed to four ‘ swingle-trees ’ working very loosely. . . . The coach is a big vehicle, two seats beside the driver and three above him, and three at the back. There is room for nine inside. It has canvas sides, which can be rolled up at pleasure. . . . We forded our first river just after leaving Springfield ; before we reached Jackson’s we had forded 43, besides innumerable little streams. These New Zealand rivers are very strange. The beds are very wide, from a quarter of a mile to two miles, vast expanses of shingle and boulders, with many streams running through them. In flood time, the beds are more or less filled. . . . A river-bed is not pleasant to drive over, the shingle lies in long hillocks, and the effect is switchbacky. In the water itself, the coach rolls a good deal, as though it must go over. . . . After about an hour and a half, we began winding round the lower spurs of the mountains, continually getting fresh views of Mt. Torlesse, which is about 6,434 ft. high. After we got over Porter’s Pass, we seemed to be always driving in the midst of a circle of beautiful mountains—very strange and wild in shape, barren and precipitous, but lovely in colour, red in places and then blue and purple with a soft haze about them. . . . We came presently to two lakes, Lake Linden and Lake Pierson, the latter four miles long and very pretty. . . . After the lakes, Castle Hill came in sight, a most extraordinary collection of rocks. . . . There is a small hotel at Castle Hill, at which we stopped for tea. . . . It began to get dusk soon after that ; however, we had light to see St. Bernard and Grasmere lakes. Then came the Waimkareri cutting. Cassidy lit all his four lamps. We could catch the gleam of the river far away below us. At each turn of the road, it seemed as if the leaders were being driven right over the edge, they had to go so close to it to bring the coach round. Cassidy told us that he once drove Archibald Forbes down that cutting, and that he said it was the only road on which he ever felt afraid. . . . At the bottom, we forded the river, a very wide and deep one, and so came to the Bealy Hotel, very hungry, tired and cold. There was a roaring fire in the little parlour, a fire of red pine logs, and a good supper. . . . I had to sleep in a queer little den, reached by going through the kitchen and across the yard. . . . Next day, we went up Arthur’s

Pass, crossed the country between Canterbury and Westland, and came so suddenly into the West Coast vegetation that it was like a marvellous transformation scene. . . . We left the Bealy at 6 o'clock, and had a sight of the Rolleston Glacier, the clouds round the mountains lifting so that we could see the ice shining cold blue in the morning light. Then we entered the Otira Gorge, driving along a road which was a marvellous piece of engineering. The Otira River had the true milky hue of snow water, and so had many waterfalls which fell into it—one nine hundred feet high roared first into a Basin, known as the 'Devil's Punch Bowl'. The Gorge was very long, and narrowed until suddenly it came to an end in the Otira River bed in which four other Gorges, or Gullies, also opened. There was a tiny Inn where we breakfasted very poorly at nine o'clock. Then we had three hours of fairly level driving through that beautiful West Coast bush. There were a good many birds. . . . We reached 'Jackson's on the Tarimakau' at 12. . . . We started to go to Inchbonnie on Thursday afternoon, and came to the railway bridge over the Teremakaw. It was 400 ft. long; the rails laid on joists about a foot apart, and, between the rails (a single line) there was a footway, two planks wide. There was no hand-rail, only four or five projections on which we might step if a train came. It was high, partly over water and partly over shingle. We did not like it, but got over it all right. At Inchbonnie Railway Station, Mr. B. met us with a horse. . . . I have not been on a horse since I was last at Plas Annie. I felt 'Tommie' knew all about it, so I drew a long breath and determined to let him do exactly what he liked. He justified my confidence. He picked his way through stumps, roots, snags and bog until a low wooden house lay in front of us. We had tea, and Mr. B. took us out to show us the woolsheds where they had just finished shearing for the day. He has only a 1,000 sheep, but owns about forty miles of forest ground, which he expects will be valuable, now that the railway will allow of the timber being sent away. . . . At 12.30 the first train came over the bridge, and in ten minutes the place was swarming with people. . . . We got away about three . . . again did the last two hours of our drive in the dark and reached Bealy's Hotel at 9.15 . . . We left at 7 next morning.

We got fairly comfortably nearly to the top of Porter's Pass. But the wind blew up suddenly into a tremendous squall. There are two places on the top, one about twenty yards and the other forty yards long, where the road runs along the very edge of the divide quite unprotected on either side. Just before we reached the first gap, Cassidy shouted to Milly and me to get down from the top of the coach. For some minutes, we had hardly been able to hold on, and could hardly make each other hear. . . . The wind was so strong we could scarcely stand. . . . However, we soon passed the worst, and got on again.

Cassidy told us later that the wind took him by surprise ; generally, he comes up the Pass in a gale with all his canvass rolled up and all the weight on the back of the coach. That was really the end of our excursion. We dined comfortably at Springfield, and the train took us to Christchurch by 7 o'clock."

With excursions, pleasant meetings with members of the University staff, and the constant company of a much-loved brother and sister-in-law, the time passed happily for Mary Dendy. Her brother wanted her to make her home with him in New Zealand, but, though the proposal was attractive, she finally decided against it. On the way back, she stayed at Wellington and Auckland, reached Sydney, 10 June, 1894, Port Melbourne three days later, and Adelaide on the 18th. She arrived in London, 30 July, 1894.

During the visit to America, July-August, 1909, besides pursuing her task of investigating methods of educational training in the new world, Mary Dendy wandered off the beaten track, and, in letters to her mother, described experiences unrelated to the main object of her visit.

From Vancouver, 11 July, she wrote :

" At the station we found Miss de Vos Van Steenwyck, a Dutch lady, who has bought land here at McGee. She came for us in a Motor Car. Such a ride ! Every motor experience outdoes the last. This car fairly played cup and ball with us. As soon as we were out of the town—indeed, in places in the town—the road was nothing but a track, full of great mud holes ; sometimes it was a timber road, where it was impossible to do anything but put planks down. Once the man had to get out and adjust the road before we could pass over it. It lay through the original forest. The intention is that some day the best residential part of Vancouver shall be out there, and there were funny little signposts up—Wilson Road, Clifford Road, and so on, where there was not even the beginning of a footpath. The flowers and berries were beautiful, and every now and then we had glimpses of sea and mountains. At last, when we were shaken nearly to pieces, we came to the house. Miss V. V. S. has a plot of twelve acres. She gave £100 an acre for it, and now it is worth five times that. She has cleared about two acres, and built the most beautiful house imaginable—a house of rich brown timber, within and without, most artistically and conveniently fitted and arranged. There is a fine billiard room, a library (in Cedar Wood) and a dining room. . . . Miss de V's occupation in life is to make a garden out of the wilderness. It is wonderful what she has done in a year. The first rough clearing was done by a gang of men, working under contract. They pulled out the burnt stumps of the trees with machinery. For the rest, she has two Chinamen—Goorg Wee works in the house, and

Sung in the garden. It is such a beautiful oasis. Just beyond it, more burnt trees, and beyond them a regular jungle, where a big black bear has his lair, and may be seen any day. Last year, a deer appeared on the lawn."

At Lake Kelowno, British Columbia, Mary Dendy had a brother engaged in fruit farming, and described her visit to him, 19 July. . . .

"When we had done our errands, Oliver brought Billy and the wagon round. Billy has been a fearsome joy to me . . . but he has saved Oliver the 240 dollars he gave for him and the wagon. . . . But I felt very much at 'William's' mercy. Oliver says gently, 'Now, Billy', or 'Now, William', very frequently, but it does not appear to me that Billy takes any notice. The roads are bad, and very heavy. Still we got on nicely until we came to the Creek. The wagon is not half bad to ride in. It has springs, only one wishes for a back to the seat after a while. The bridge across the Creek was washed away three weeks ago, and the water was still high. It came right up to the floor of the wagon, and when we got well in, Billy refused to budge another inch. Oliver thinks we struck a boulder. I am sure Billy was just getting ready to lie down (some-one else's horse did that the day before, and they had to get a team to drag him and his driver out), but Mr. Mappin was riding behind us, and he hitched up his horse, walked into the Creek, and got hold of Billy's head. He pulled him up near the bank, and helped me out over the wheel. . . . Oliver had intended to sleep on the kitchen floor, his second bed being out on loan to a man whose mother and sisters had been staying with him, but I believe in an hour everybody on the Ranch knew that I had come, and presently the man brought the bed back. . . . We had a beautiful drive round by 'John's'. John is an Italian, an old man now, who began as cook to the Catholic Mission, and is the richest man in Kelowno. . . . But mosquitoes and black hornets! I am sure I could never get used to being eaten up alive. . . . I believe good times are coming for Kelowno—it will be a great pleasure and health resort. If I had money, I would build a little hotel—so small that as many guests as wished could never get in—there is a sulphur spring up there."

At the New Jersey Training School, Mary Dendy met with hospitality not characteristic of the country. Writing, 12 August, she described how she arrived tired and hungry.

"I went down to supper, needing food dreadfully, and the supper was, tomatoes, sliced cucumbers and onion mixed, raw smoked beef, and ice-cream. I ate some bread and butter, and retired to my room. It is horribly uncomfortable. I found that my pillow was a hair bolster. My bed head is right against the window, and a high wind was blowing. About fifteen young women are sleeping here, and they kept up high jinks. At last, in despair, I decided to kill

two birds with one stone, and appealed to my neighbours : ' Could you lend me a cushion, please ? ' ' It's the pillows—they're dreadful, you must take it out and put your blanket in the pillow-case.' ' I have not got a blanket.' Then came a chorus : ' My aunt ! that's too bad, come along back, and we'll fix you. Ain't you tired ? ' I was dizzy and dead tired. And they fixed me, and, when they retired, they were as quiet as mice."

Writing from Park Avenue Hotel, New York, 15 August, she describes the city, and concludes :

" Yesterday was not a very good day for the Hudson River. . . . I took the nine-o'clock boat for Poughkeepsie. It was licensed to carry 5,500 people, and before we got there she was about full. She has five decks, and the top one, being exposed to the sun, was not popular. It was a very beautiful trip, especially along the part which has the ' Pallisablo ' for one bank—steep rocks, very straight up and down and looking like great pillars. The mountains are none of them very high, but I got a panorama of the two banks. . . . There was nothing disagreeable, except the waiting a long, long time for the boat at Poughkeepsie. We were very closely packed on the wharf, and it was hot. She was very late, and, carrying only 4,000, was more crowded. A number of poor people of all nationalities were travelling by her, with crowds of small children, and their household goods done up in bundles. The shipping here is most interesting. I never realised before what a great waterway is like. And ships are much nicer than land vehicles. They look so intelligent and full of purpose. I saw a tug bringing in two heavily loaded, clumsy merchandise boats. She looked like a nurse with a big naughty child on either side. Her funnel was canted over to one side, with the most comical air of anxiety, and you could see at every puff of her engines how worried and fussed she was feeling. We got to Poughkeepsie at 2.15, and ought to have left again at once, but, as it was, it was 7.30 before I got back home."

Writing from Waverley, Boston, 18 August, she speaks of that city and its environs.

" I went to Concord and Lexington the day before yesterday. It was a most beautiful and interesting drive. We saw the battle-grounds at both places, and the stone that marks the grave of English soldiers. All soldiers' graves here are marked with a little flag, and a kindly Concord lady keeps a Union Jack on this one, covered with the Stars and Stripes. We saw the Alcott House, and the Manse where Hawthorne lived, and the funny little building where the Concord School of Philosophy met ; then we went to Emerson's House, and drove through Thoreau's Walden and looked at his pool—such a gloomy pool. We went to Sleepy Hollow, too, and saw Hawthorne's and Emerson's graves. . . . To-day I have been into Boston. . . .

We went to look at Wendell Holmes's house—sat down on the doorstep opposite and looked—it was closed for the Summer and very melancholy. We went to the Unitarian Association's building, and got caught there by a nice old man, who could not think of letting us go until he had shown us every portrait in the place—very fine ones, some of them. He had a photo of Uncle Charles in his own office. We looked at the Frog Pond and the State House, and finally came home very tired. . . .”

Of her very many visits to Switzerland, that of 1914 (26 July—25 August) was most exciting, covering, as it did, the outbreak of the Great War.

3 *August*. “All the trains are full of soldiers. . . . I have been to Interlaken. Cook's office is closed, and it is difficult to arrive at any definite news. The only way of leaving Switzerland at present would be to go to Italy, and chance a boat at Genoa or Naples. But it would be awfully hot to wait there, and I think it much better to wait here quietly in the spirit of three delightful old English ladies, who are here settled down to play Bridge until things clear up. We hear of hotels on the frontier being packed, and 250 people sleeping in the railway station at Geneva.”

4 *August*. “We hear that in the course of next week trains will be run to take home the English. Of course, many of them have no means to pay for tickets. . . .”

6 *August*. “Again, no English papers, letters, or telegrams. We suppose that the news is true which is in the Swiss papers that England has declared war on Germany. . . .”

8 *August*. “The wildest rumours get abroad. One of our French ladies was told by a German shopkeeper in Interlaken yesterday that the Germans were in Paris ! . . . The Queen Mother of Russia is in Switzerland. I think I saw her on Thursday. . . . It is sad to see this gay little place so quiet. The steamers are plying, but are almost empty. Shops are gradually closing. The harvests cannot be gathered, or only very slowly. Building operations have ceased. . . .”

10 *August*. “I am trying to get a telegram sent to-day. I shall send it to the Home Office, and ask Sir William Byrne to let you know. . . . We still get no news of any kind from England, and see no papers but the Swiss. They report fighting so close that at Bâle they hear the cannon. At present, the French railways are engaged in getting the French home. You may get this letter in about a fortnight. It will go round by way of Italy. . . . I can still get cheques cashed, but am only getting 22 francs for a pound now. It is difficult to come by metal money. Everyone is hoarding. I myself am holding on to two £5 notes, and three sovereigns, which ought to bring me home, once I get the chance. . . .”

16 *August*. “It seems probable our special train will start this

week. . . . We have the *Times* of the 7th. It is fine to see how England is meeting this crisis. . . .”

On 25 August she arrived home. Next day, she described the journey.

“ I am writing because I may not be able to come to see you to-morrow or next day. At Berne, we saw Lord Acton, who, being unable to get back to Darmstadt, where his work was, had volunteered to help at Berne. He left London on the 4th, and had been 96 hours on the way, travelling in cattle-trucks. . . . He most strongly discouraged any attempt on my part to go alone. He advised remaining until, towards the end of the ‘ Specials ’, travelling would be decent, if slow. Lord Acton gave me an order for £15 which I exchanged at the Swiss National Bank for English gold. It was a tiring day, as the train took 2½ hours each way. Next morning I got a letter from Sir William saying : ‘ Take the first opportunity ’, so I ‘phoned the Embassy again, and was told to go at once to Berne. I just caught the train, and arranged to be transferred to Major Morley’s party—he was in charge of the first train. I got back to Spiez at about 7, and arranged for an early start on Saturday. . . . I was not allowed any luggage but what I could carry in my hand. We were to take food. . . . It took nine hours to get to Geneva. Next morning, at 10.30 I was standing in queue, moving slowly on to the train, which we reached at 11.30. We were organised by soldiers with bayonets fixed. . . . In my compartment we were eight. . . . We were 28 hours getting to Paris, which we reached at 2.30 on Monday. Anything more than an occasional wash of hands in about a teacupful of water was impossible. . . . The children’s milk had not kept, though it was boiled. So, when we got out at Lyons, I went straight to a soldier, and asked him what I should do. He called the Red Cross Sister, and they sent a messenger on a bicycle, and in about half an hour, he brought me a litre of good new milk in a bottle. I left the Sister a sovereign for the wounded. . . . The soldiers were at our carriage windows, and I handed them my cigarettes, case and all. They were so pleased. . . . At Paris, we left our train and were put into another. Very few people got even a cup of tea. We boiled a spirit-lamp kettle on the step of our carriage, and made a little tea with some water I had. . . . About an hour out of Paris, the coach caught fire—wheel friction—and had to be left. At Dieppe at 10.30. We were told we must go on board that night, and not to an hotel. . . . I slept on the deck, or did not sleep—no chair could be got, but I had my cushion. We sailed at 9 a.m., and had a good passage. . . . We lay off Folkestone for a pilot, who brought us in in the oddest way, twisting and turning, it was supposed, to avoid mines. . . .”

Mary Dendy’s luggage did not arrive until 30 November.

A capable linguist and a woman of affairs, though seldom care-free, Mary Dendy was equal to most emergencies when travelling, but her experience on this journey was unique.

Few women, it may be truly said, in her own circle of acquaintance, extensive as that was, saw more of the world, or had more interesting adventures on her travels than Mary Dendy.

EDUCATION AND CARE OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED

In an address to the Manchester Statistical Society, 14 December, 1898, the first given by a woman, Mary Dendy briefly recounted the story of the beginnings of the movement to which, henceforth, her life was, in the main, to be devoted.

“As a member of the School Board, I soon found out that there were, in my schools, many boys and girls, who were quite incapable of taking in the lessons given. . . . If I told a story, they did not laugh with the others ; they hung listlessly about in the playgrounds. In speaking to them, I did not find that they responded to what I said, as children usually do. . . . I went to Mr. Wyatt (Secretary to the Board) for advice and assistance, and he put me in possession of the necessary information as to what was being done elsewhere. . . . Dr. Woodcock gave me an introduction to Dr. Shuttleworth, late head of the Royal Albert Asylum. The latter gave me advice which has been and will be invaluable. The upshot of our consultation was that it seemed desirable that I should see, in their own homes, those children who were returned as incapable of going to school. It was not a very long list—47 cases in all—and I was fortunate in finding all the children but two. I forwarded my account of these cases to Dr. Shuttleworth, and he made notes on each case, suggesting what should be done with each child. Then my report and these notes were laid before the Board. . . . The terrible sights I saw in my pilgrimage from house to house to see those suffering children made an impression upon me that I shall never forget. I knew, after that, that it would be impossible for me to rest until something was done to clear away this shameful blot from our town . . . The result of the report was that the Chairman, the Clerk and myself were sent to London to see what was being done there. We saw some of the London classes, and interviewed the Departmental Committee, then sitting. Next morning, Dr. Shuttleworth took me through his beautiful private establishment at Richmond, and gave me an object lesson worth having. Then we presented our report to the Board. This was in July, 1897. But reports, in themselves, are not efficacious as a means of curing evils. We seemed to stand still there, and I wanted something done. So I got Mr. Wyatt to plan out a scheme of visitation of all the schools for me, and I, with one of our attendance officers, went to every Board School, and I

saw all the children, 39,600 in actual attendance. . . . We took notes on 525 children . . . when I took the Report to the Board, naturally, someone said that I could not know anything about it, and that very likely an expert medical man would reject two-thirds of the cases. . . . Dr. Woodcock asked Dr. Ashby if he would help . . . Dr. Ashby gave me twenty-five mornings in the schools, two hours a morning, and a written report on every one of the 500 cases. . . . Just about halfway through the examination, the School Board Election took place, and I lost my seat. I was, however, invited to finish my work with Dr. Ashby. It was finished at the end of January, and, early in March, Dr. Ashby printed his report. The Board has resolved to build two special schools to begin with, to accommodate 60 children each . . . but when the best is done by day-school teaching (and that is all that the law, *as it now stands*, can give to these children) there will remain a large number little more able to take care of themselves on leaving school than on entering it. . . . When I finished my work with Dr. Ashby, I consulted him as to a scheme I had been turning over in my mind for some time, for providing boarding schools for those children, who, when they left the special schools, should still be a danger to the community and to themselves, and was glad to find that it met with his approval. Of course, it would have to be carried out by private effort. I first obtained an introduction to Mr. Herbert Philips, then saw Sir William Houldsworth and Mr. C. P. Scott. Dr. Shuttleworth went into every detail with me. Then Mr. Rawson gave me 100 copies of the scheme drawn up, and I went to work to let people know, in the press and out of it, what I wanted done. . . . I was asked to speak on the subject at Stafford House, and later the Duchess of Sutherland proposed to address a Meeting in Manchester, if I would get one together, on October 20th. . . . The meeting was held, and officers and committee were appointed. I want to begin work this time two years . . . I shall be able to see, in the special classes, such as need permanent care safely transferred from the day-schools into the boarding-schools, without any disastrous interval spent upon the streets. In the boarding schools, we shall keep them, playing and working, so far as is possible, earning their own living, children all their lives, but happy, harmless children, instead of degraded and dangerous ones. . . . For the purpose of carrying out our scheme, we want £20,000."

When the third edition of the Address was published (18 July, 1900), the plans for the Boys' School had been approved by the Board of Education, an influential Branch Committee formed in the Eccles District, a Report on the children in the Voluntary Schools of that district drawn up, and a large sum of money collected.

Behind Mary Dendy's statement of work done, 1897-1900, lies concealed much which modesty did not permit of mention. For

thirteen years more, until October, 1913, without a break, save for occasional holidays and rest enforced by illness, the work continued.

On 29 June, Mary Dendy was again elected a member of the Manchester School Board—last on the list of successful candidates—and two years later, when its work passed into the hands of the City Council, she was co-opted on the Education Committee.

On 19 May, 1898, she read the first of a long series of papers on Defective Children—to the Manchester and Salford Education Association, and, next month, spoke at the Ladies' Literary Club on "My Children".

From first to last in her crusade, she neglected no opportunity to grasp more perfectly the nature of the complex problems presented by the Feeble-minded. To this end, she directed her reading for years, and listened to lectures by experts in London and elsewhere on different aspects of the subject. The Feeble-minded was her chief, but by no means her only interest, though most of her time and interest were given to questions relating to women and children.

On 10 May, 1901, she gave evidence in Manchester before a Commission on Street Trading, and in London, July, 1905, before a Departmental Committee on the Medical Inspection and Feeding of School Children. On the subject of "Free Meals for Children", she had written a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, 23 April, 1903, questioning the wisdom of indiscriminate charity. It brought her warm commendation from the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, of Kirby Lonsdale, a friend of Hughes, Kingsley and Ludlow, who "for 39 years resided in Whitechapel" and "rejoiced to find her preaching sound doctrine", and from Mr. C. E. B. Russell, another experienced and zealous worker among the poor.

In the interests of women and children, she took part in the petition to the Government on the Concentration Camps during the later stages of the Boer War, and, at a Policemen's Concert (26 November, 1901), secured most of the signatures of the members of the force present. She promoted and dispatched a letter, appreciative of her work, to Miss Emily Hobhouse, largely signed by Manchester women. In her reply, 12 March, 1902, Miss Hobhouse said: "I am glad even to have been outraged by deportation from South Africa, though ashamed that any English Secretary of War should have stooped so low as to order my arrest."

For the sake of the dependants of the unemployed, after declining to serve on the Manchester Distress Committee in 1905, she reversed

her decision, and, to the telegram from the Lord Mayor that " They could not do without her ", replied that she would join the Committee. In February, 1906, she resigned owing to ill health, when " the great advantages they had derived from her co-operation " were gratefully acknowledged by her colleagues.

A day's round of duties, 22 September, 1902, is typical of many another :

" Went with Mr. Wyatt and Mrs. Pankhurst to Henshaw's Blind Asylum ; took lunch at the District Kitchens ; then to the High School. With Mr. H. to see a little cripple ; to School Board Offices. After Board Meeting at Feeding Infants' Committee ; met Mrs. C. and settled about Eccles Collecting ; Mr. and Mrs. D. and their boy called to see me in the evening."

Such was the nature of the work whose call constantly competed with that of the feeble-minded throughout the period of her labours for the latter.

On 3 November, 1898, the Lancashire and Cheshire Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded was established, with Mary Dendy as Honorary Secretary. Surely no Honorary Secretary meant more to a Society than she did to hers. Its most representative and informed speaker and writer, with an unsurpassed gift for raising funds, she was actively engaged in the direction of its policy, organisation and work, even to the minutest detail. The vital word " Permanent " in its title represented a new development. No other Society would entertain what was involved by it, and, at first, the idea met with much opposition.

At the outset, she kindled public interest in the scheme by addressing, at little or no expense, meetings in chapels and halls, where, in the " nineties ", a respectable crowd could be found, accustomed to collections, and not unresponsive to a gospel of good works. Mary Dendy tripped lightly over denominational barriers, with the goodwill of Christians of every sort, even those, now all but extinct, who gathered in what were known as " Labour Churches ". To Unitarian pulpits, she possessed, as it were, an almost hereditary right of entry. Congregational, Baptist and Methodist chapels heard, for the first time, a Unitarian, though she never abused her privileges by heretical discourse. Even influential congregations heard her voice, e.g. she spoke from Dr. Mackennal's pulpit, at Bowden, whilst at Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, or P.S.A.'s, as they were called, and at Women's Co-operative Guilds, she became a familiar figure. Episcopalian and Roman

Catholic churches were closed to her, for was she not a woman? Nevertheless it proved possible to address the clergy school at Ordsall Hall, as earlier she had done the theological students at the Methodist College near Alexandra Park, and Wesleyan Deaconesses in Liverpool. Ere long, she interviewed Dr. Casartelli, the learned Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, on the possibility of establishing Roman Catholic schools for the feeble-minded, and, at his invitation, addressed, 17 February, 1904, a meeting of priests and influential laity of his diocese.

Private meetings of the wealthy in Drawing Rooms, it was found, brought better returns than the more public gatherings of the middle classes. Hence, at first in the Manchester district, then north, south, east and west, wherever a lady with a large heart was found willing to invite benevolent friends to open their purses, Mary Dendy was in evidence, reasoning, appealing and beseeching on behalf of "her children". Mrs. F. W. Crossley, of Star Hall, wife of the well-known philanthropist, made her first donation with a gift of £1,000 for the building of a girls' school, and, six years later, added another £1,000 for the removal of the school to more commodious premises. A gift of £1,000 by Mr. J. T. Thomasson, of Bolton, a prominent Unitarian, was followed by one of £50 from his wife to provide a summer holiday for Mary Dendy herself. To enumerate even the more substantial gifts would be tedious.

Soon, Mary Dendy enlisted the co-operation of leading citizens as chairmen of meetings, summoned by civic authorities or groups of public-spirited citizens in towns and cities, and frequently, in addition to donations to the funds of Sandlebridge, local committees were formed to further the work for the feeble-minded. In Glasgow, the Lord Provost occupied the chair, in Leeds, Mrs. Maclagan, wife of the Archbishop of York. Three days after the last-named meeting (21 April, 1902), Mary Dendy was invited to Bishopthorpe "to talk to the Archbishop". In her account of the visit, 26-28 April, she says "The Archbishop took me in to Dinner, and we talked about my children. He is a most courtly and beautiful old man". Next day, he took her to the Minster, and, after tea, "a long and most satisfying talk followed". When she left, "The Archbishop", she adds, "gave me his blessing, using words which would not hurt my Unitarian feelings. It was very beautiful." Mrs. Maclagan formally opened, 6 November, 1902, the schools at Sandlebridge, Cheshire, where the David Lewis Trustees had generously given the Society land, to be handed over in plots of

five acres as required, and, at the Annual Meeting of the Society, four years later, she concluded a gracious speech by saying that the Archbishop sent the Secretary "his affectionate regard, his blessing, and a donation". Amongst other episcopalian friends were Archdeacon Wilson, of Rochdale, with whom she spent more than one week-end, Canon Hicks (afterwards Bishop of Lincoln), who addressed the Annual Meeting, 21 October, 1902, and Bishop Welldon, Dean of Manchester, at whose residence she spent a night (March 1907) in order to meet Dr. Percival, Bishop of Hereford, "a very charming and gracious man". A dozen years later, February 1929, Dr. Welldon entertained her at the Deanery, Durham, and, in a letter, expressed his "great pleasure at meeting her again, and reviving memories of the old days, when they were fellow-workers in Manchester". She enjoyed the visit, but did not find "the old monastery a good place in wintry weather". Dignitaries of the Church, however, were not by any means the only distinguished persons who did honour to Mary Dendy and themselves by encouraging her work. At Liverpool, first Lady Derby, then Lord Derby, took the chair; at Edinburgh, the Master of Polwarth, and later, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Lodge; at Bristol, a tobacco magnate, and at Newcastle, a wealthy Quaker; whilst Mayors too numerous to mention, eminent physicians, scientists, and other intellectuals lent their valuable support to the cause.

Meetings more awe-inspiring, for which more serious preparation was required, were those to which Mary Dendy was summoned in order that experts in science and medicine might examine her plans for the solution of the problem of the feeble-minded. On 13 September, 1901, she read a paper before the Economic Science and Statistical Section of the British Association at Glasgow University. Her case was briefly stated thus:

"The special point to be proved is this. We are to-day suffering from an evil which will, if unchecked, bring ruin upon our nation. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and the weakest link in our social life is the mass of mentally feeble persons, who live among us, unguarded and unguided, suffering and helpless, a danger to themselves and to society, and perpetually propagating their species."

In 1901, also, at the request of Mr. C. S. Loch, secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, she addressed a meeting of the recently formed National Association for the Care of the Feeble-Minded, held at the Society's offices, and pleaded strongly for

permanent care. Subsequently Mr. Loch endeavoured to get the word "Permanent" included in the title of the Association, but in vain.

On 29 April, 1902, she was elected a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. On 18 July, she read a paper before the Medical Section of the International Congress on the Feeble-Minded, with Sir J. Crichton Browne in the chair, and immediately after the meeting attended a gathering at the Guildhall, when it was resolved to ask for a Royal Commission to investigate the problem of the feeble-minded. Next month, she was assisting in the formation of a Childhood Society in Manchester. On 6 May, 1903, she addressed a distinguished and select assembly at Lord Londonderry's town house, when the company included three peers, a bishop, H. H. Asquith, C. S. Loch and a number of leading physicians, one of whom told her that "what she had written and said on the subject of feeble-minded children had affected the whole trend of thought and feeling upon it in the country". It was becoming plain that the appointment of the Royal Commission could not long be delayed. On 1 April, 1904, together with Dr. Ritchie, Mary Dendy was sent to Nuremberg by the Manchester Education Committee to attend the Conference on Social Hygiene. There she made the acquaintance of many German and English physicians, amongst the latter, Sir Lauder Brunton, F.R.S., who was to become one of her intimate friends. German hospitality was not to her taste, and, after four hours at a dinner, she "left them at it". From this time on, she was frequently the guest of Sir Lauder and Lady Brunton in London. On 16 June, 1904, the physician, a Roman Catholic, presented her with books and pamphlets bearing on the subject of their common interest. In the summer of 1905, she spent her holidays at Whitby, as chaperone to the young people in the family, and, on his death, his daughters presented her with a memento of him as "one of his dearest friends". "He was", said she, "a little man with the largest heart in the world."

On 7 October, 1904, the Cheshire Education Committee recommended a building grant of £2,000 for Sandlebridge. Five days later, she was interviewing the Surrey Education Committee. The Society was now making a wide appeal, and, 4 November, became incorporated.

Meanwhile, the Royal Commission was appointed, and, to the dismay of her friends and the disappointment of Mary Dendy her-

self, she was not made a member of it. She was, however, one of the principal witnesses examined, and, for the purpose of evidence, drew up a careful schedule of 407 cases of feeble-minded children. On 5 December, she met the Commission, and was interviewed from 12 noon until 4 p.m., with a short interval for lunch, and again, a week later gave evidence at great length. The impression she made may be gathered from a couple of letters she received. Dr. G. Archdall Reid, writing, 25 June, 1907, said :

“ I saw Dr. Donkin (a member of the Commission) a few days ago. He spoke in very warm terms of your evidence. I read it, and, if you will allow me to say so, thought it very good indeed. I think it very probable that the Report will accord with yours and Dr. Ashby's evidence.”

After the publication of the Report, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Galton wrote, 5 February, 1909 :

“ You must allow me to address you as if you were a friend, for I have read with high appreciation your admirable evidence before the Royal Commission on the Feeble-Minded, and feel perfectly acquainted with your excellent work at Sandlebridge.”

In March, 1905, Mary Dendy addressed the Manchester Statistical Society for the second time. Her subject was “ The Problem of the Feeble-minded ”, and a single sentence illustrates its spirit. “ If we will play Providence, we must be wise as well as pitiful, and we must remember that if the ne'er-do-weels of society have their rights, so have the well-doers.”

Amongst the most capable coadjutors of Mary Dendy for many years were C. H. Wyatt, Clerk to the Manchester School Board, and Henry Ashby, M.D., whose help she always warmly acknowledged. Wyatt's work as an educationalist for thirty-two years was recognised by Victoria University in 1902 by the conferment of the M.A. degree *honoris causa*, and his unflagging support of the Society made a great impression in educational circles. Dr. Ashby, a specialist in children's diseases, gave most valuable medical advice. His biographer observes : “ A royal commission on the care and conduct of the feeble-minded, before which Ashby gave evidence in 1905, was largely an outcome of his support of Miss Dendy's experiments.”¹ Dr. Ashby's death, 6 July, 1908, was a great blow to her. She spent 10 July—13 August on the Continent,

¹ D.N.B.

and, writing, 1 August, said : " I shall never get over Dr. Ashby's death. . . . I am not sure I can bear to go back to the work without him." Happily, the increasing demands upon her energies provided, in due course, the much-needed consolation. Her own health, for long, gave concern to her friends. When Warford Hall was acquired by the Society in 1906, thanks largely to a handsome donation by Dame Lees, of Oldham, Wyatt expressed the opinion that " all will go well, if Miss Dendy is spared ", and, even a year earlier, a London physician put the alternative before her of " going on working at the risk of shortening life, or slackening effort for the sake of health ". She chose the former.

Amongst friends, members of the University staff, deeply interested in her and her work, were Dr. W. E. Hoyle, the zoologist, and Dr. J. Lorrain Smith, Professor of Pathology. Dr. Lorrain Smith directed her reading, and gave help in other ways. Apparently, there was give and take between them, for in a letter, 16 September, 1911, the Professor said :

" I much appreciate your friendship, and the amount of knowledge I have gained in my association with you. I am not one of those who are too proud to admit that a lay person can teach him anything, and I am very grateful to you."

The removal of the one to Cardiff and of the other to Edinburgh interrupted their cordial intercourse with Mary Dendy, but did not end it.

An old friend of the Dendy family, the Rev. S. A. Steinthal (1826-1910), who had married Sarah Howorth, her mother's most intimate friend, served Mary Dendy, by his judicious counsel, as no other could, particularly in the delicate matters of her personal relations with colleagues and subordinates.

Precious as was the help and counsel of such friends, it did not materially relieve the strain of the work, and the burden of propaganda continued to fall mainly on her shoulders.

With her pen, never long at rest, Mary Dendy addressed many outside the reach of her voice. Pamphlet followed pamphlet, some of which were reprints of addresses, or articles contributed to journals. Letters to the press, of course, formed an effective, and, what was equally important, an inexpensive form of disseminating information. Naturally, the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* were much used. The *Co-operative News* reached a constituency which it was important to capture, and the *Queen* brought news of the poor and wretched to the notice of those with leisure and means.

The *Lancet*, 24 May, 1902, gave the Society its blessing, and other journals followed suit. Appeals for help in the *Inquirer*, the Unitarian organ, became a regular feature of that weekly, whose editor more than once supported them in leading articles. In one article, Mary Dendy admitted that her propaganda was incessant and possibly objectionable. "One good friend said: 'Speak about it in season and out of season, keep on speaking.' 'But,' said I. 'Yes,' he interrupted, 'you will be a nuisance, but no good thing was ever done without someone being a nuisance.'" Probably she did her best to be one during July-August, 1911, when four long articles on "The Feeble-Minded" appeared in four successive issues.

For herself Mary Dendy did not court publicity, whilst never shunning it when it served her campaign. Her photograph, with pertinent remarks, appeared in the *Queen* in the autumn of 1899; the first number of *Lancashire Faces and Places*, January, 1901, contained her photograph and a review of her work based upon an interview. The *Daily Dispatch*, 17 March, 1901, discovered she was good copy, as did others of the popular dailies later.

The Royal Commission, appointed September, 1904, reported in the summer of 1908. The Report, which ran to eight volumes, fully justified Mary Dendy's apprehensions of the serious nature of the problem of the feeble-minded, and warmly commended her work. Part V, dealing with Voluntary Institutions and Care, speaks of Sandlebridge Colony as "the most complete experiment for providing permanently for the feeble-minded".

On 4 June, with financial aid from the Society, Mary Dendy sailed for America to attend the Meetings of the International Council of Women, and, incidentally, to inspect the institutions in the new world for the treatment of the feeble-minded. Before she left home, she prepared a number of lectures to be delivered at various centres. She visited Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, Banff, Vancouver, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and other places. An account of her adventures at Kelowna is chronicled elsewhere.¹ She was most impressed by the institution, in charge of Dr. Fernald, at "Waverley", Boston, Mass., of which she afterwards contributed an account, "Workers or Wastrels", to the *Charity Organisation Society Review*, November, 1909.

Letters home gave detailed accounts of her experiences. In Philadelphia, she found the saying true that "if you pass an excep-

¹ p. 156.

tionally fine building, it is sure to be either a Quaker college or an Asylum". The Swarthmore Institute, "the first Asylum founded in the States (56 years old)", was "more institutionary, less home-like and less practical than Waverley". "But the children (six to sixty year old) are kindly treated—there are 1,000 of them." Of the New Jersey School, she was frankly critical, and not least of its head. With an eye on the future, when visiting a Government Experimental Farm near Toronto, she persuaded the Mayor to hand over his speech, that she might use extracts from it in an article for the *Manchester Guardian*. The Lake Side Hospital there, to which children were moved from the town hospital for three months' life in the open, met with hearty approbation. The visit to the Pennsylvania Training School for the Feeble-Minded she found very profitable, and with Dr. Martin Barr, its chief, she corresponded in later years. At Waverley, she stayed over a month (July–August). She writes :

"This house, the administrative block, is one of eight or nine grouped about the top of a lovely wooded hill, rising out of beautiful park land. In the various houses are 400 boys and girls of all ages and all grades of mental defect—a beautiful hospital, and Dr. Fernald has worked exactly on our Sandlebridge lines, and we agree at every point."

In the company of her host, she saw the State Almshouse and Hospital, with its 2,300 inmates ; enjoyed the sight of 100 boys converting a swamp into pasture land, and was particularly struck by the children's hospital in Boston, and the floating hospital for babies in the harbour, with its 62 nurses and 20 doctors, a chemist's shop and laundry, all on board.

The abounding hospitality shown to the women delegates was freely acknowledged, including, as it did, special trains and cars, and feasts without end. At Fort William, "after addresses from four clergymen and the Mayor", "a new chime of church bells was rung for the first time in their honour".

So much was done, so many miles traversed, so many institutions visited, and all in so short a time, that more than once she was driven to write in bed her letters home.

Shortly after her return to Manchester, Mary Dendy took up the still much-debated question of Married Women Teachers in Schools, and in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*, 29 January, 1910, pleaded against their employment, on the ground of (1) "the arduous and exacting character of a woman teacher's ordinary

work ", that " most of the break-downs among women teachers are due to the combination of home duties and anxieties with devoted and earnest professional work ", and (2), apart from house-work, " the moral and spiritual training of the young child can only be done properly by the mother ". She concluded :

" That there is something wrong in the economic position of many married women is probably true ; they have no settlement or *dot* like French women, and our English law does not give them the claim on their husbands that German women have, but these wrongs will not be righted by encouraging married women to work for their living ; rather will they lose what even our partial civilisation has secured, the principle that a man should support his wife and children. . . . "

During 1910-11, she was a Governor of the Manchester High School for Girls. On 24 May, 1910, she learnt privately from Sir Thomas Shann " that it was intended to offer me the M.A. degree at the University. I am pleased, especially as Miss Horniman is to have it at the same time. " With Miss Horniman, she was on excellent terms, and frequently enjoyed her hospitality at the Gaiety Theatre. In a letter to Mary Dendy, Miss Horniman said : " We are proud of ourselves, but I am certain that that won't do much harm to either of our souls. "

Members of the Education Committee presented Mary Dendy with Gown and Hood, and on 2 July, 1910, the ceremony took place ; amongst the members of the Dendy family present being her mother, then in her 80th year. She was presented by Professor R. S. Conway, who said, *inter alia*,

" Miss Dendy's work has earned for the North of England the rare distinction of leading the way to what is nothing less than a solid advance in civilisation. She has devoted her rare powers of insight and organisation, and an even rarer enthusiasm of pity to the rescue of the most defenceless members of society. . . . Miss Dendy undertook a long and arduous investigation, in which she examined seventy thousand cases of defective intelligence, scattered through the elementary schools of the country ; and, during the thirteen years in which she has been a member of the Manchester Education Authority, her persuasive influence has led to the establishment of four separate schools for this class of children, and, when this school dismisses them at the age of 16, her farm and home at Sandlebridge receives them for permanent care, and creates for them happy, and even useful occupations. She has made visible one of the most dangerous blots on our present civilisation, and she has proved that it can be remedied. . . . "

Honours, like all else, have their drawbacks. A person becomes a personage, one whom an inquisitive public desires to see or hear. Consequently, Mary Dendy's list of lectures, addresses and conferences lengthened.

In August, 1910, she spoke at the Paris International Conference on Social Hygiene, and, after a holiday in Switzerland, lectured (September-October) at Middleton, York, Todmorden, Birmingham, Bolton, Pendleton, and Liverpool. On 26 October, she makes the discovery that "she has not enjoyed a cup of tea at home for fifteen months". Over against this, she could write, 8 November, 1910, "Bought the farmhouse for young men. Now we have proper accommodation for young children, boys and girls, youths and maidens, men and women. I could sing my hymns of thankfulness to-night."

In 1910 appeared *Feeble-mindedness in Children of School Age*, by C. Paget Lapage, M.D., with an Appendix on Treatment and Training by Mary Dendy, M.A. Published by the Manchester University Press, it was dedicated "To the Memory of Henry Ashby". A second edition came out in 1920, containing much new material. Mary Dendy's contribution to the book, as Dr. Lapage acknowledged, was not confined to the Appendix, which ran to 66 pages, and contains a detailed account of life at Sandlebridge. As the notice of the book in the *British Medical Journal* observed, "The Appendix supplies many useful hints from practical experience".

In March, 1911, Mary Dendy addressed a meeting of the Local Government Association in London on the subject of "Women Lunacy Commissioners"; on 31 May, read a paper before the Charity Organisation Society Conference, and then spoke in succession at Gloucester, Nottingham, Bradford, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Bristol, Exeter, Bolton, Mansfield. A pleasant incident marked the Conference of the Sanitary Association in Manchester, 11 May, 1911, when she, with Dr. A. F. Tredgold, was a guest of honour at a Dinner in the Reform Club. At Portsmouth, 4 September, 1911, she again read a paper before the British Association, her subject being "Farm Colonies for the Feeble-Minded". "Sandlebridge Colony", she remarked, "began with 15 small boys and the same number of girls. There are now 230 boys and girls and young men and women, of all ages from six to twenty-three. Seventy are over the age of sixteen." She then described work at Waverley, Boston and at Sandlebridge.

The two years that followed still saw Mary Dendy on tour—

Halifax, Oxford, Sheffield, Alnwick, Nottingham, Cheltenham, Chorley, Scarborough, and Cambridge, where Sir Thomas Barlow and Sir Clifford Allbutt were amongst the auditors—and still writing for the press. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* informed its readers “What Manchester does for its Afflicted Children” and other morning newspapers gave information on various aspects of the problem of the feeble-minded. On 25 May, 1912, an article appeared in the *Spectator*.

The Government Bill, dealing with defectives, which Mary Dendy and others had striven to promote, was now in the House. This led to her correspondence with several Members of Parliament upon it. Mr. Waldorf Astor, M.P., a member of the Committee on the Bill, visited Sandlebridge; and Mr. Leslie Scott, its Chairman, took counsel with her, and finally sent her a draft of it, inviting comments thereon. One of the stoutest opponents of the Bill, who detected in it a menace to the liberty of the subject, also visited Sandlebridge, and, at the end of his tour, confessed that “he had modified his opinions”.

After a visit to the Home Office, 28 May, 1913, Mary Dendy went to the House to hear the debate on the Bill. On 3 June, appeared in *The Times* a letter upon it from her pen, which won much commendation. The same day, she was again in the Ladies' Gallery of the House. She writes in her *Diary*:

“To London by 9.45 from London Road. Looked round the Temple. At work with Mr. Scott, 2-4.45. Then to the House. It was very curious sitting there, and hearing oneself and one's work talked about. Mr. Scott presently sent a message for me to go to the Terrace to talk to a few members. I had a good tea—needed it—and just in time into a taxi, and off to catch the 6.5 p.m., and got home before 10.30.”

Her friends, the Darwins, in Cambridge, exercised their influence in behalf of the Bill. Francis Darwin, after a talk with Mr. Birrell and Lord Crewe at Trinity College, reported:

“Mr. Birrell does not know nor care very much about it, though he said he was sure Mr. McKenna was most anxious to get it through. Lord Crewe was really interested, and took in various points, which he had not realised before, showing the absolute need for legislation.”

The Bill was passed, 15 August, 1913, and, on the 27th, she received a copy of the Act. On 30th October, Mary Dendy was appointed by Mr. McKenna a Commissioner under the Act, with a stipend of £1,200 per annum.

During the seventeen years she was engaged in propaganda in behalf of Sandlebridge, Mary Dendy never lost touch with the colony. She sat in judgment on naughty boys, occasionally superintending the infliction of penalties, adjudicated on the grievances of the staff, superintended developments and passed every plan for extensions and alterations, in addition to secretarial and administrative work for an institution, that always threatened, like a growing boy, to get outside its outer coverings. The first reference to Sandlebridge in her *Diary*, 3 June, 1902, runs: "Helped to bathe my boys and put them to bed. Stayed all night. Thank God for a beginning." The death of inmates was always a grief to her. When one of the boys died, she recalled how a month earlier, 17 June, 1906, in answer to her question: "Joe, who takes care of good little boys?" he replied: "God and you." In the moral and religious training of the young people, she took for long the principal part. Here is a Sunday at Sandlebridge.

"8.35 a.m. Went round all the houses; 9.15-10.30, Walk with eleven of my big boys; 10.30-11.30, Sunday School; 11.45-12.45, Saw all children at Dinner; 12.45-1.30, Lunch and talk with Miss M. about services; 1.30-2.45, Sunday School. Caught the 3.19 train. Home to tea just after 5 p.m."

The children admitted were carefully selected after personal visits by Mary Dendy to towns and cities often far removed from Manchester.

Visitors to Sandlebridge, never few, increased in number and variety as the years passed—medicals, educationalists, members of the Society, the benevolent who wanted to see things for themselves, Americans, with introductions from friends on the other side, a Dutchman from Amsterdam and another from South Africa, representing his government, three from Brabant representing theirs, two ladies from Finland, and a young Turk from Constantinople, to whom everything had to be explained in French—these were doubtless interesting folks, but their visits exhausted the time and energy of the Honorary Secretary. The French-speaking visitors amused the defective children, one of whom remarked, "Oh, we ought not to laugh at them, ought we? It's not their fault they were born so." An American lady, writing from the Department of Health, Ottawa, congratulated Mary Dendy on the progress of the institution "of which you have always been the mother", and added: "I remember the first time I went to Sandlebridge, the driver of the carriage which took

me from the station, replied when I asked for it: 'You mean Miss Dendy's schools.' " Plainly, if she had not always been in attendance on such visitors, it would have appeared like Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Mary Dendy's correspondence was truly enormous. Her friends included French, Danes, Germans, and Americans, physicians, scientists, clerics, society ladies and many others, to which must be added, during the War, numerous "Tommies" indebted to her for gifts and benefactions.

One of her numerous medical friends, Dr. H. Bryan Donkin, a member of the Royal Commission, interested her in W. E. Henley (1849-1903), a poet, whose suffering and stoic philosophy made a strong appeal to her. In a letter, 8 July, 1912, Dr. Donkin incidentally gives a few bibliographical details, unnoticed in the article on Henley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

"Henley was a very great friend of mine, a poet of the first rank, though he published little, and a man with a keen appreciation of the scientific attitude towards problems of all kinds. The collected poems, in the volume you read, contains his best work, but there is another book, published later, called, *Hawthorn and Lavender*, which is scarcely less perfect. I have an unbounded admiration for him and his memory. The book in which his first printed poems appear, 'The Hospital Verses' is now out of print. It was collected and edited by me (on behalf of the Chairman of the Hospital, to which I was physician) in 1875, in order to be sold at a Bazaar. It was called *Voluntaries*, and is now very rarely picked up (at a premium) at second-hand booksellers, wholly on account of its containing the first edition of Henley's 'Hospital Verses', which are in the book you have read. The rest of the contents of *Voluntaries* are not probably significant, though they contain contributions, afterwards published elsewhere, from several well-known people, e.g. R. L. Stevenson, Lord Lytton, Mrs. W. K. Clifford, Andrew Lang, etc., whom I knew, and who gave me their contributions."

A lady, who addressed Mary Dendy, 9 February, 1906, as "My dear brave Thing", gave her a pleasing view of one whom she had met—Lady Grey, wife of the statesman, "Lying in the library at Fallodon, and the squirrels feeding out of her hands—such wild things, but quite fearless in her presence."

J. St. Loe Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, in a letter, 15 June, 1911, expressing sympathy with Mary Dendy on the numerous Conferences she was called upon to attend, said:

"I agree most heartily with you that there are too many Conferences, but I suppose they serve some useful purpose. I am rather

like the old woman who believed that if a medicine is only disagreeable enough, it must be good for one."

Next year, 8 June, 1912, describing a visit to the *Spectator* office, Mary Dendy told her mother :

" You never saw such a ramshackle, tumble-down old place in your life. It is the first time I have penetrated to an editor's den. I don't think I could live in such a muddle, but I daresay it's very literary. Mr. Strachey is a charming man."

Dr. W. E. Hoyle, writing from Cardiff, always addressed Mary Dendy as " My dear Twin " because they were born on the same day, and scattered German and Welsh phrases throughout his epistles, the latter fortunately translated.

The appointment of Mary Dendy as Commissioner under the new Act necessitated residence in London, the resignation of membership of the Manchester Education Committee, and, though as it proved only *pro tem.*, the severance of her connection with Sandlebridge. In acknowledging her resignation from the Education Committee, Sir T. T. Shann expressed his very high appreciation of the good work she " had accomplished during the past seventeen years ".

The office of the Board of Control was at 66 Victoria Street. Mary Dendy lived at first in rooms, then in a flat, and finally, in an hotel. Her joy in the opportunity of larger service was dashed by the death, 8 December, 1913, of C. H. Wyatt, " marking the end ", as she said, " of a wonderful and most helpful life ". Before taking up her duties, she went on a trip to the Canaries, 20 December—11 January, 1914, taking Miss Wyatt with her.

The Board of Control officially came into being with the demise of the Lunacy Board, 1 April, 1914, and one curious result happened : " A very beautiful portrait of Lord Shaftesbury, the only one known, I believe ", said Mary Dendy, " was left to the Board for as long as it should be independent, not a branch of a department. Now it must go to the National Gallery."

In the capacity of Commissioner, Mary Dendy travelled throughout England and Scotland, reporting on hospitals, schools and institutions of various kinds. A tolerable gazetteer could be compiled from the names of the towns and villages visited and the descriptions of them in her letters home. Occasionally she still indulged in a lecture before a Philosophical Society or Congress on Hygiene. Well might she wonder : " Shall I be able to go on ?

It is terrible work." A change came with the War—for the worse. Her holiday in Switzerland and its termination are described elsewhere.¹ Travelling now became really difficult, accommodation in hotels less tolerable, and, to these minor troubles, were added staff changes in the Board and their effects. Bread and cheese luncheons on a railway journey, or tea, shared with a chauffeur, long halts at junctions, and reports to be written in waiting-rooms, food rations, with visitors from the provinces dropping in, air raids in London, and the loss of young friends at the front—such incidents made life almost an incessant struggle with adverse circumstances. On a journey to Boston, September, 1916, she saw the damage done by Zeppelins, and "the funeral of the little boy who was killed. A shunter, the only Conscientious Objector in Boston, lost his leg. The bombs just missed the Church, the Station and the Gas Works." But even wartime had its compensations. When "a friend had a hare which the servants would not touch, there was some certainty of two or three meals". Acquaintances quickly became friends. One was found in the octogenarian Sir John Watney, of Reigate, whose generous hospitality Mary Dendy often enjoyed. Despite German submarines, there was happy correspondence with old friends in America. Dr. Fernald, of Waverley, gives her an American view of the War, 11 February, 1918:

"I was delighted to receive your good letter of December 23rd, which, as you will see, was nearly seven weeks in reaching me. Over here, we have not had much of the horrors of war as yet. . . . The sinking of the *Tuscania* this past week is, of course, the sort of thing we must expect. I must confess that I have been a pessimist ever since the war began. In fact, years ago, when I saw what they were getting ready for in Germany, I wondered whether we would ever realise our foolishness. . . . I hope that when the war is over, you will come over to see us again. You may be sure that we shall welcome you. We have had many visitors, but never any that won the place in our hearts that dear Miss Dendy did. . . . One thing that will never come back is the pre-war conditions. I believe that if Democracy is to continue, that the grabber of wealth, the multi-millionaire, the Trust magnate, will have to pull in his horns. I do not believe that the Anglo-Saxon man will be content to give up all private property rights, but the old days will never come back. In England, as in this country, there will have to be a little more even distribution of the results of labour. . . ."

¹ See pp. 158-9.

From 1917 to 1920, Mary Dendy served as a Governor of Bedford College. Her term of office as Commissioner was extended a year beyond the date of retirement by age, and on 26 January, 1921, she attended her last meeting of the Board. Next month, her colleagues made her a presentation of "a very beautiful cigarette and match-case inscribed "with affectionate regard".

During her residence in London, she attended Essex Church, and records her appreciation of the ministry of the Rev. J. H. Weatherall, M.A., now Principal of Manchester College, Oxford. She seconded a vote of appreciation to him at the Annual Meeting of the congregation, March, 1918, as she said, "with a quaking heart and a trembling voice". On the Sunday after the Armistice, much to her delight, Mr. Weatherall read for his lesson "the oration of Pericles for those who died in defence of Athens".

Mary Dendy now returned to Sandlebridge, and took up her residence at "Greencote", where she lived for the rest of her life. She signalled her advent on the scene by an appeal to her friends in the *Inquirer*, 2 April, 1921 :

"I am living on the spot, and hope to end my days here, but not before I have seen our Colony greatly enlarged and improved. We have 290 beds, and always more applications than we can meet."

In a year, she collected £530. On 24 June, she was elected President of the Society and Chairman of the Governing Body—a position she occupied until her death. She herself described this period of her life as "A New Chapter—the Last". The new was much like the old—the pre-war life—so far as her activities were concerned, though life at "Greencote" was more pleasant than the makeshifts for home in Manchester and London. During 1923, a house was purchased for Miss Wyatt, now superintendent at Sandlebridge, and in 1925, "Noah's Ark", capable of housing 50 men and boys, was acquired. Speaking at the Annual Meeting of the Society on the reluctance of local authorities to put in force the Mental Deficiency Act for lack of funds, Mary Dendy said : "If I were ten years younger, I would not rest until I had Mr. Snowden (Chancellor of the Exchequer) giving grants to provide permanent care for the feeble-minded and permanent sanity for future generations." In such words may be recognised the authentic voice of Mary Dendy.

On 13 October, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster offered to appoint her a magistrate for the City of Manchester, but she

declined the honour. On 4 September, 1929, her old friend, Miss Nelly McKee, bequeathed to her a legacy and half the residue of her estate, amounting in all to some £7,000. "It will make things easier for me," she wrote, "but shall make no difference in my way of life." In 1930, the Colony included Warford Hall, Lees Hall, Lane-Scott House, Lees House, Noah's Ark, School, Recreation Room, Farm, Workshops, Homes and Hospital. Two years later, Warford Lodge was acquired, accommodating 40 more boys.

From 4 to 19 March, 1932, Mary Dendy was away on her last holiday—a sea trip to Marseilles.

When she died, 9 May, 1933, "over £40,000 had been raised from voluntary sources mainly through her efforts". The foundation of Sandlebridge had "provided the object lesson which led to the legislation of 1913, under which the care of the feeble-minded became a function of local governing authorities, and the necessary powers of detention were given by Parliament". The Recreation Room, built by public subscription, and presented to Mary Dendy in honour of her 70th birthday, was the scene of the Memorial Service, 12 May, conducted by the minister of Cross Street Chapel, prior to interment at Alderley Edge Cemetery.

The Secretary of the Board of Control sent the following letter to the Society:

"They have heard with regret of the death of Miss Dendy; and desire to extend to the Society their sympathy in the loss of their president. The loss to the Society will be shared by all who are concerned with the care of the mentally afflicted. Miss Dendy's life-long interest as a pioneer in the care of the feeble-minded is shown by her work as Foundress of the Society and of the Sandlebridge Institution, and by her seven years' service as Commissioner of the Board of Control. She was, indeed, the first Woman Commissioner appointed, and the Board know from personal experience what a loss Miss Dendy's death must mean to those who were associated with her in the work of the Society."

THE WOMAN

Mary Dendy, short in stature, and, for many years, frail in frame and delicate in health, did not betray in outer appearance the spirit that animated her. She was a woman of courage and initiative, who overcame difficulties that might have daunted one of sturdier build, and refused to be content with mere indifference to problems not patient of easy solution. On occasion, she could sit up late

at night arguing with an Archdeacon on the vexed question of religious education, and cross swords with an Oxford don on the Fiscal problem. She met the polished political opponent or the rude refractory child with a strength and firmness that commanded respect.

Unafraid of embracing the unpopular cause, and by inheritance and conviction a member of an outcast religious community, in her stout adherence to the principles of toleration and freedom at home and abroad, she was a Unitarian of the same school as her ancestors on spear and distaff sides, but, in her views of the rights of women and the dues of children, she advanced beyond many of her contemporaries in the free faith. She belonged at once to the nineteenth century—the age of Free Trade, Free Education, Individualism, Political Reform, and personal moral discipline—and to the twentieth century, with its intenser humanitarianism, keener sense of the evils of *laissez-faire*, and loftier conception of the status of women and children in the community.

A cultured woman sensible of a mission in life, she made friends of both sexes with ease and retained them almost without effort. She never affected the semblance of that superiority to men, associated by the vulgar and ignorant with the advocates of women's rights, though when, after several vain attempts, she beat a man at billiards, she took a not unpardonable pride in her victory. It may even be suspected that she was unwilling, at all hazards, to press to a logical conclusion her principle of an open career for women. After recording in her *Diary*, 31 May, 1893, that "Miss Tagart and two female American ministers came to call in the evening", she adds on the following Sunday that she attended Newport chapel, when her father preached, but "played backgammon with mother in the evening, when Miss Murdoch preached". In the abstract, she had no scruples about women in the ministry, and, apparently, as little desire to profit by their ministrations. The omission of any commendation of their labours or regret at their departure is probably not accidental. She simply notes that "Miss Florence Buck and Miss Marion Murdoch sailed for America." A dozen years were to pass before a woman passed through College and entered the regular Unitarian ministry in England. When the suffrage campaign was in full tide before the Great War, she had become too engrossed with her own special work to take much part therein. She was not a "militant", and refused, 8 November, 1908, to sign a petition for the release

of imprisoned suffragettes. One whom she met at dinner she described as "a nasty militant suffragette". Excesses in propaganda did not, however, affect her sympathy with the movement, and on 29 November, 1909, she was entertained as a guest at a Suffrage Dinner.

Throughout life, once she had left home to go her own way in the world, Mary Dendy walked alone, the lot, it may be, in every generation of the single woman dowered with character and ability, and little else. Friends were many and generous, and their friendship highly prized, whilst to those nearer and dearer she never turned in vain for succour and support in trial and tribulation. Yet, never bound to another "for better, for worse" by the link that is not to be broken, "home" she had none, in the highest sense of the word, only here and there places of abode, save for those precious years at Folly House, to which, indeed, she gave the sacred name. By no means lacking in charm, at Folly House she met one whose companionship had been pleasant beyond compare. She once described him as "kind, masterful, prompt and considerate", doubtless a picture in little of her perfect gentleman. His courtesy and kindness, meetings and partings, and the walks and talks in field and wood were unforgettable. Friendship remained, with occasional encounters in the years that followed. The first letter from him after leaving High Garrett, she confessed: "disappointed me in some vague kind of way". When Mr. H. married sixteen years later, she sent him a wedding present. Within a year he was dead.

Under the providence of God, the high qualities of mind and heart that might have been lavished on one were to be given in their maturity to the many—broken waifs and strays of humanity for the more part—who needed most the affection and tender care of Mary Dendy.

Miss Cawston had bequeathed her a capital sum which provided a small independent income, and Mary Dendy began her first New Year after the loss of her friend with the words: "I have only two desires—to live well within my income, and make the world better for somebody." She did both. In pecuniary matters, especially as a public servant, she was extraordinarily scrupulous, whilst to the needs of the larger world she now entered she was singularly sensitive.

Uniting, as rarely happens, the power to plan large schemes with an ability to execute them in detail, she was apt to take upon herself too much and leave too little to others in enterprises in which

co-operation was essential, and suffered accordingly in body and mind. Impatient of opposition, on the impulse of the moment she sometimes spoke and wrote sharply, but seldom, when unwarranted, without subsequent remorse upon reflection. Tenacious of authority when in command, and not without ambition or a proper sense of her own importance, she was yet more concerned about her duties than her rights, and never spared herself, whether engaged on high but arduous works of mercy and benevolence or in the discharge of her obligations as a servant of the state.

Inability to evoke what she deemed a fitting emotional response to her own generous approaches to friends and colleagues occasionally induced a mood of despair. The tendency to melancholy, resulting in part from infirmities of the flesh and bafflings of fortune, in part from the habit of overmuch introspection, was, however, happily tempered by a delicate humour manifested in the spoken and written word. A clergyman she met at table was "a pleasant man by gaslight". Climbing a Swiss mountain to gain a glorious view from the summit, "we followed", she wrote, "a young man who took a carriage, and went to sleep! At the top were numbers of Germans drinking and playing dominoes!"

At Melbourne, her attention was caught by "a Miss K., who kept an old rooster in a cage, because she loved to hear it crow". She was capable of a jest against her own sex, as when, after speaking, 11 July, 1895, to 200 working men, she observed: "It was not bad, but very quiet, as I was the only woman there", and she could see herself in a ludicrous light, as on the posters during the Guardians' election: "Mary Dendy, Spinster, is quite an important person for the moment: she is all over Rusholme", or as, when after showing several parties over Sandlebridge in 1909, she observed: "I feel like an old barrel organ, always grinding out the same tune." In America she discovered "there are a few things one must learn—never to criticise anything, and understand that both Fort Arthur and Fort William are, each of them, the most important town on Lake Superior."

A shrewd reader of character, an aptitude that stood her in good stead in dealing with the poor, deserving and otherwise, she described Professor Morse Stephens, the historian, whom she met several times at Newport, as "a very extraordinary man, full of knowledge, secretive, a great talker. I suspect, rather sarcastic; admiring, I think openly, while making a mental reserve of 'what fools these mortals be'."

Practised in beggar-letter writing and skilful in controversy, she used the press to some purpose, opening the pursestrings of the wealthy and well-disposed by her graphic pictures of the plight of the feeble-minded, and silencing the censorious and critical with forcible and convincing argument based on incontrovertible facts.

Intolerant of sham and pretence, in a letter to *The Times*, 27 August, 1915, she ridiculed the appeal of the "Women's War Economy League".

"In ordinary times it is a harmless craze that makes people think they must join societies for 'getting up early', 'reading half an hour a day', 'speaking one kind word', 'putting no sugar in tea', 'walking a mile before breakfast', etc. Now, during War, when all our energies and all our money ought to be expended for useful purposes, surely one of the sacrifices women might make is the abstaining from joining societies, and the wearing of useless badges."

The letter evoked appreciation from many correspondents. One thanked God "there is one sensible, level-headed woman in the British Isles".

Travel abroad and intimate acquaintance with all sorts and conditions of men and women at home enabled Mary Dendy to be at ease with rich and poor, wise and simple, young and old. Priests and prelates, learned professors and clever politicians, government officials, business men and talented women, not less than the humbler folk with whom and for whom she spent the larger part of her life were of the number of those who enjoyed her company and honoured her for her work's sake.

Reverent in her attitude towards the mysteries of life and death, and appreciating the value of religious ordinances, especially the Communion Service, she was neither superstitious nor puritanical, in both respects true to the Unitarian tradition. The Roman Catholic Requiem Mass made no appeal to her. The grave of Gambetta, visited in 1883, "covered all over with black bead wreaths", she described as "a regular nightmare of a grave", and was moved with contempt by an inscription nearby that Gambetta's soul came back every night to smell the flowers.

As already stated, she loved a play, and throughout life found pleasure in the theatre. She even braced herself to visit a London music hall, to the evangelicals of forty years ago the scene and source of Satanism. She saw Loie Fuller dance, and pronounced it "lovely" (2 January, 1896), and the show as a whole she "liked

much better than she expected". With the advent of a new century, she learnt to smoke a cigarette.

Fond of physical exercise until age made it impossible, at 46 she took part in a cricket match, and frequently enjoyed County Cricket at Lord's. She began to ride a bicycle at forty. It was almost in the infancy of that innocent machine, or, at least, of one such as a woman might ride, and though cycling was becoming fashionable, a woman on wheels had not then ceased to be an object of dread to the pedestrian and of disdain to the prude. She found the bicycle invaluable in Manchester during the nineties, and often took it away on holiday, recording, with some satisfaction, her feats—"13 miles in an hour and five minutes", and "22 miles in two hours and five minutes".

During 1897, at considerable cost of health and happiness, she had pursued her self-appointed task of inspecting and reporting on defective children, and, in the midst of her labours, by the suffrages of the electorate, lost her seat on the School Board. On 31 December, she writes :

"I sat up to see the New Year in. I doubt this may be my last. I have not done what I should this year. God grant I may do better in all I shall see of this one now come in. God grant I may do a little more work for his children before I go, and that I may forget myself."

Three years later, she writes :

"Stayed up to see the New Year in. Have I had a better year? I think so. My plans for the children prosper. I am back on the School Board. I have worked hard and done much. I have been at peace with others, though not with myself. I have made the kindest new friends. I have had much pain, but less of late. I am more hopeful. I never forget my darling Miss Cawston."

These and many other such self-communings reveal the woman in all her strength and weakness, resolved, while it is yet day, to work in the spirit of one who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister".



HELEN BOSANQUET

HELEN BOSANQUET (*née* DENDY), LL.D.

(10 February, 1860—7 April, 1925)

HELEN DENDY, the fifth child of John and Sarah Dendy, was born at Patricroft, near Manchester, 10 February, 1860.

Like her sister Mary, she received her early education from her mother and a German governess. She was fond of a pencil and a brush, and a few sketches in a book, given her in 1879 by her sister Louie, attest her skill and taste, and, incidentally, indicate where she spent some of her holidays. A view of Antwerp Cathedral, and three sketches of Heidelberg and of Schleussbad in September and October, 1880, suggest that she was on the Continent for a considerable period towards the end of the year named.

When her parents removed to Newport, Isle of Wight, in 1883, she remained in Manchester with one brother studying law, another, a student at Owens College, and a sister teaching at the Manchester High School for Girls.

Whilst resident in the city, she took part in the organisation at Collyhurst of the Girls' Club which afterwards developed into the Collyhurst Recreation Rooms, and her later writings largely determined the lines on which the work there was conducted.

In 1886, she entered Newnham College, Cambridge. Older than most of her contemporaries and intimate with few, she quickly made a position for herself, and excelled as Liberal leader in the political debates of the students. "Once", it is said, "with a fellow Minister, she brought in a Bill in 33 clauses to amend the Poor Laws . . . an incident prophetic of her future appointment as a Member of the Royal Commission on Poor Laws."

One who knew her at Newnham wrote :

"She carried weight by her ability and sound knowledge, and not less by a peculiarly dry and pleasing wit. She could keep the house chuckling, while her solemn demeanour and grave beautiful eyes were only betrayed by a smile as whimsical as it was occasional and fugitive."

Another fellow student adds :

“ It is hard to believe that any student of Newnham ever had more influence on her younger contemporaries than Helen Bosanquet, affectionately known as ‘ Aunt Dendy ’. No one was more beloved or sought after ; no party was complete without her. . . . The name of tone-raiser, taken by her in jest, clung for years, and the most charming letters written after she went down were always signed T. R. . . . Much as we admired her in those early days, the work she did after leaving Newnham only made us more proud to have some share in her interest and affection.”

Helen Dendy specialised in Political Economy, and graduated with a first class in the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1889.

On completing her course, she described herself, in a *jeu d’esprit* advertising her vocation, as “ H. Dendy, Artiste in Political Economy and Moral Philosophy ; also in various miscellaneous genteel accomplishments. Intellects cultivated on moderate terms.”

For some time, she lectured in Oxford, but found no congenial occupation until she yielded to the impulse to take up practical service, and study for herself the life of the poor. In fulfilment of this purpose, she lived for a period in workmen’s flats in Camberwell. In October, 1890, she was appointed District Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society at Shoreditch, and occupied rooms near the office at Hoxton. She continued to hold this secretarial appointment until her marriage, five years later.

The rich experience of those days is stored in the Essays included in the volume, *Aspects of the Social Problem*, edited by Bernard Bosanquet, published in 1895, and in *Rich and Poor*, published in 1896 (2nd ed., 1898), which, for long, proved an admirable handbook for social workers and students.

In the first-named book, the seven essays from her pen were entitled, “ The Children of the Working Classes ”, “ The Position of Women in Industry ”, originally contributed to the *National Review*, August, 1894, “ Marriage in East London ”, first written for the *Contemporary Review*, “ The Industrial Residuum ”, a paper read at the Economic Club and published in the *Economic Review*, December, 1893, “ Old Pensioners ”, “ Origin and History of the English Poor Law ”, and “ The Meaning and Methods of True Charity ”. The other contributors to the volume were C. S. Loch, M. McCallum and the Editor.

In “ The Children of the Working Classes ”, she says :

“ I am fortunate in commanding a survey of some five or six gardens—sooty dirty strips they are, but capable of affording an amazing variety of interest to the owners and their neighbours.”

These "interests" she describes, and the conversation of mothers "confiding the histories of their children's accidents and ailments over the low dividing wall" separating one garden from another. One of the three schools "within a stone-throw of each other" is "called by its teachers the 'sink' of Hoxton". The lives of its children are depicted, including their homes,

"where four or five in a bed is a common distribution. I have known them overflow into the box mangle, which was considered by the mother to be quite sufficient for two."

Helen Dendy visited the haunts as well as the homes of her neighbours.

"Not long ago, I counted between thirty and forty infants in arms at the Rotunda Theatre, and there cannot have been fewer than a hundred present."

"Opposite my study stands the Parish Church", she wrote in "Marriage in East London", introducing a picture, at once humorous and pathetic, of the revels which accompany Bank Holiday weddings and the misery which follows them. "The Industrial Residuum" paints the lives of the lowest class, including, for example, "a woman I have known who lived for weeks on the friendly scraps let fall from the landlady's table". "Old Pensioners" gives a series of sketches of her aged acquaintances. One, an old woman, lived for sixteen years in a garret. Her worldly property consisted of "a narrow bed, with scanty covering, an old moth-eaten trunk, and a rickety chest of drawers. It fell to my lot to have to go through the contents of the drawers, and a more mournful survey I have never made—not for what was there but for what was not. One or two old rent books, a few scraps of former dresses, bits of string and stray buttons—there was literally nothing else." One old man, whose company Helen Dendy enjoyed, had "taught himself French, Italian, Spanish, the elements of algebra and geometry, and a smattering of Astronomy and Anatomy from *Cassell's Popular Educator*", and possessed a treasured library of dusty old books picked up from the bookstalls. An old lady, who had kept school in early days, related an experience of an application for help she had made to a religious society. "They wanted me to say the exact date and hour on which I was converted", she moaned, "and perhaps it was very wicked, but I couldn't be sure." So "she was ploughed in her examination, and was too simple-minded to find consolation in

her moral superiority to her examiners"—a comment betraying Helen Dendy's distaste for the evangelical doctrine of personal assurance.

Aspects of the Social Problem met with a good reception, and reviewers were not slow to notice the excellence of Helen Dendy's contributions to it. In the Preface to *Rich and Poor*, Helen Dendy states her conviction, ultimately derived from the training and traditions of her family, that "character is one amongst other economic causes, and as such cannot fail to have an economic effect". In her discussion of Sunday Schools, the contrast between those in London with others "in the north country, where the scholars stay on in large numbers to the age of twenty, thirty, or even forty" was based on her acquaintance with Unitarian Schools in the Manchester District, and especially with that at Monton, where she spent her youth.

The book, like the Essays, is partly autobiographical, for the intimate knowledge of the life of the poor, which it displays, was purchased at the cost of personal association with every class in South London, including the most wretched and depraved.

"One man I know who is quite a striking instance of 'double personality'; he has two names, one by which he is known to the police as a desperate character, the other by which they ignore his existence, and under which he will earn an honest living as a cabinet-maker. He is a clever fellow, and boasts that he has earned £200 in a year at his trade; he has also made nearly as much in a single night. He is much attached to his old mother, but is not a whit ashamed of having undergone penal servitude for a murderous assault. For a considerable time now his life has been to all appearance that of an honest, hard-working citizen, and during his leisure he has been occupied in making a table as a present to a working-men's institute and turning an elaborate 'Chalice' for a clergyman to whom he took a fancy. He will argue for the hour together that he has an absolute right, notwithstanding any law or morality, to take what he wants from those who have it; but not long ago he stopped me in the street to point out how the State was failing in its duties in not providing for all the unemployed."

Again,

"The skill of the pickpockets is extraordinary, and no wonder, for they begin their training almost as soon as they can walk. Standing in a little shop one day I heard the owner order out some tiny children of three to six years old in a stern way which surprised me, for I knew him to be a kindly man. He explained that the little mites were trained to go into shops and pick the pockets of customers;

the smaller they are the less likely to attract attention or suspicion, and the more conveniently can they explore the skirt pocket. Poor little mites ! ”

“ One man I know who has done hardly a stroke of work for years ; during his wife’s periodical confinements he goes off on the tramp, leaving her to take her chance of charity coming to the rescue, and returns when she can get to work again ; I have known fathers who would send their hungry children to beg food from their neighbours, and then take it to eat themselves ; and one I have known who would stop his children in the street and take their shoes from off their feet to pawn for drink.”

Occasionally, Helen Dendy even lifts the curtain on her own manner of life, as when she says : “ I myself have never bought muffins from the muffin-man since I discovered that he kept them at home between the making and the selling ” or writes :

“ For some years past my business has taken me in an omnibus carrying some half-dozen girls to their work, from the look of them I should say some semi-clerical work in a large business house. . . . In winter, one after another they start coughing and sneezing, their faces get to look pinched and wan, and I long to send each of them a roll of warm flannel with a hint to make it up into underclothing.”

Amongst her visitors to Hoxton were old fellow students at Newnham. One of them writes :

“ Everyone who worked with her must have learnt something of her extraordinary sympathy, and painstaking care over each individual who came for help. No one was ‘ a case ’ to her, and one poor crippled girl for whom she secured a pension and boarded out in the country, for twenty years afterwards used to ask, ‘ How is Miss Dendy ? I never can remember her married name.’ ”

In addition to administrative work, Helen Dendy was much engaged in lecturing and writing. As early as 11 May, 1890, prior to her settlement in London, she lectured to the London Ethical Society at Essex Hall on “ Unrecognised Responsibilities ”. On 15 May, 1893, she read the opening paper at the first Conference of Charity Organisation Societies, held at the Suffolk Street Picture Gallery, on “ Thorough Charity ”. It was afterwards published, under the title of “ The Meaning and Methods of True Charity ”, in *Aspects of the Social Problem*, already noticed. “ Thorough Charity ” is defined as “ charity that is thoroughly thought out ”, and illustrations given of charity that was not. In an address to the Council of the Charity Organisation, Mr. E. C. Price afterwards described the paper as “ a closely reasoned view of the

scope and function of voluntary charity as a factor in the common social life". It met with much appreciation from an audience which included Mr. Bernard Bosanquet, whose acquaintance she first made in 1891 in the course of her work for the Society of which he was an enthusiastic supporter.

In 1893, she was appointed a University Extension lecturer, and Mr. Bosanquet advised her on the conduct of classes—"put questions after each lecture such as attract people to answer", "do not argue in replies but explain." Her experience of the value of these methods probably dictated the question which closes her *Apology for False Statements*, afterwards published. "Is it not safe to assume that in a considerable number of cases opinions from which we differ require interpretation rather than refutation?"

In a letter to her sister, she reveals her method of preparing lectures, her interest in music, and the straitness of her means:

"I have got my lecture to prepare for to-morrow. I am doing them *ex tempore*, but they are just as much trouble to get ready in that way as if they were written, and one is never sure when one is ready. Do you know, I think I *must* have a piano. I just ache for it sometimes, and, though very likely I might get tired of it after a time, it would be an immense comfort. Of course, it would be enormously extravagant; but as I shall be paid for the lectures at Southwark, I think I might. . . ."

Experience of clergymen as colleagues in the work of the Charity Organisation Society did nothing to qualify the contempt she expressed in *Rich and Poor* for the ecclesiastical practice of making charity dependent upon religious observances. Writing, 25 July, 1893, she said:

"There's a room full of sky-pilots downstairs fighting like cats and dogs; it's such fun I have to keep going out on the stairs to listen. Mr. N. is away, and no one else can manage them except me, and I'm not going to bother myself. It makes one think though, 'How these Christians love one another!'"

In 1895 appeared Helen Dendy's translation, from the second German edition, of *Logic* by Christoph Sigwart, of Tübingen, two volumes, originally published in 1873, 2nd edition, 1888. The English translation was favourably noticed, and a second edition came out in 1896, with a life of the author and notes added from the third German edition.

At the end of April, 1895, Helen Dendy was so much in need of a holiday that her sister Mary offered to take over her C.O.S. work that she might go away in the summer. That the offer was

declined might be due in part to what was pending. In August, she became engaged to be married. Writing 23 August, she said :

“ Do you remember the C.O.S. Conference, and do you remember asking me who Mr. Bosanquet was ? and will you be very much surprised to hear that I have promised to marry him as soon as we can both get through the work we have in hand ? That seems likely to be in December next. Not that I am going to give up work altogether, but I have sent in my resignation, and I shall be an ‘ Hon. Sec.’ thereafter. At the end of next week, I settle in for the last quarter’s work, except for a run up to Manchester to introduce the new relation. I know I shall have your good wishes. Happy as we are, we are both eager for our friends’ approval—no, not that, but sympathy.”

It may be conjectured that so independent and self-reliant a person and so accurate and careful a writer as Helen Dendy meant to say neither “ approval ” nor “ sympathy ”, but, for once, in the happy excitement of the moment, the right word eluded her.

She was married from “ Ewhurst ”, the residence of her brother John, 13 December, at Monton Church, the ceremony being conducted by the Rev. S. A. Steinthal. Her new home was 7 Cheyne Gardens, Chelsea, a house which Bosanquet had bought in 1889, and beautified with Morris wall-papers and hangings, De Morgan tiles, and a few choice pictures—“ a very comfortable home ”, Mary Dendy called it. It was in the neighbourhood of that occupied sixty-two years earlier by Carlyle and his gifted wife, but the household was as unlike the Carlyles’ as can be imagined. Bernard Bosanquet, already marked out as a scholar, became one of the most distinguished philosophers of his day. His wife, in her own sphere, was scarcely less eminent. “ She shared his interests and his faith ”, and, “ from the date of his marriage, his life was, beyond doubt, exceptionally happy ”.¹ The perfect affinities of mind and heart between husband and wife are discernible, despite the natural reticence of the writer, in *Bernard Bosanquet. A Short Account of his Life*, by Helen Bosanquet, published in 1924.

On 26 April, 1896, Helen Bosanquet lectured at Essex Hall, on “ The Education of Women ”, for the London Ethical Society, of which her husband was one of the founders. It was published, 1898, in the *Standard of Life, and Other Essays*. The point of the Address is contained in the remark : “ Reason is of the same nature in man as in woman.” One observation might well have formed

¹ A. C. Bradley, “ Bernard Bosanquet ” (from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XI, p. 10).

part of the author's "Apologia de Vita Sua", if defence had been necessary: "To be strong minded has always been a reproach to women. And yet what quality is more essential to a human being than strength of mind—strength, that is, of Reason and of reasonable will."

During the spring of 1896, a six months' holiday in Switzerland was much enjoyed "notwithstanding obstinately wet weather".

In 1897, the Bosanquets resolved to leave Cheyne Gardens, with its "small and rather sooty garden", for the country, where the philosopher might enjoy more quiet and better air than London afforded. They removed in April to Caterham. In addition to the usual incidents attendant on such migrations, the removal involved "waiting in a completely empty house for furniture vans which had stuck in the mud some miles off, and never arrived till next day". "It was late and dark", adds Helen Bosanquet, "when we made our way down the hill to the nearest inn." Happily, both were philosophic in temper as in thought. "A small house and garden on the top of a hill, and rather difficult to get at", is Mary Dendy's description of the new home. She was there assisting her sister in preparing for the "At Home", 1 May, 1897, when, curiously enough, "no one came, except the editor of the *C.O.S. Review*, who stayed to dinner". Next day, Helen Bosanquet lectured for the Ethical Society at Essex Hall on "Juvenile Criminals", drawing on experience already described.

The Bosanquets had learnt to ride bicycles at Chelsea, and together they scoured the country-side round Caterham in search of specimens of flora, for a common love of flowers and gardening was one of the many links that bound their souls in one. Writing later of the day in which holidays impair the complete satisfaction derived from a garden, Helen Bosanquet said:

"Presently we shan't want to leave the spring flowers, and then we shan't want to leave the roses, and then we shan't want to leave the fruit,"

and, some years later, when the state of her health made gardening impossible, she said, 15 June, 1911:

"I am sure the return to Mother Earth is a cure for much wickedness. I am much wickeder myself since I have had to give up gardening."

On 22 March, 1898, they spent a holiday in Greece. Even here, interest in flowers, if subordinate to that in classical archæology,

was not neglected. A letter written by Bosanquet to a niece after their return, and quoted by his wife, says :

“Helen and I spent an enchanting morning at the Botanical Gardens, Oxford, over Barnes’s original drawings of Greek flowers. . . . We identified many of the flowers we saw, but he has not nearly all the species.”

The biographer adds : “We also brought back some seeds from the Acropolis, from which we grew plants that flourished in our garden at Oxshott for many years.”

Other common interests, and the mutual consideration of husband and wife for each other, are disclosed in the Memoir of Bernard Bosanquet.

“He enjoyed reading aloud, and in this way, though reading only for some forty minutes each day, we covered a large range of Literature. The Greek classics he would read to me sometimes in translations, sometimes from the original, translating as he went and rarely at a loss for the appropriate word. Much history was included and biographies, among which Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* and Lockhart’s *Life of Scott* were repeated more than once. In indoor games he took little pleasure. . . . Cards did not attract him, and though during the last few years we played backgammon regularly it was chiefly for the sake of sparing my eyes, which began to tire with much reading.”

Both, so long as health allowed, enjoyed a game of golf.

The *Standard of Life and Other Studies*, published by Helen Bosanquet in 1898, contained, in addition to that which gives the main title to the book, a few essays originally written for the *Journal of Education*, the *International Journal of Ethics*, and the *Charity Organisation Review*, whilst one had been read before the Socratic Society, Birmingham.

In September, 1899, the Bosanquets removed to “The Heath Cottage”, Oxshott, a house which they had built near the Common, in which the “library was the principal room”. Extensive gardens made by them required the attention which was gladly given. The situation had been chosen largely that they might be near the Lochs—Charles S. Loch, Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, being one of their intimate friends. Its amenities were improved in 1913, when electric light was brought within reach. “We expect to go away next month while the house is wired. Then we shall come back and try turning it on and off”—is how Helen Bosanquet announces its advent.

Towards the end of 1900, Helen Bosanquet was invited to become a member of the Executive Committee of the Association for the Care of the Feeble-Minded, but the pressure of other work compelled her to decline the invitation. In July, 1901, a cycling holiday, in the course of which the Bosanquets visited Winchester, Salisbury and Stonehenge, ended with "a week in the New Forest, riding and botanising". It was followed in December by three months in Rome, "the only place which ever tempted us to leave England permanently". In 1902, appeared one of Helen Bosanquet's major works, *The Strength of the People, A Study in Social Economics*. It was welcomed by the Press. A competent reviewer detected in it

"not only the high qualities of painstaking research, sound judgment and lucid statement, which, indeed, are no more than we expected from the author of *Rich and Poor*, and the *Standard of Life*, but also that equilibrium of mind and heart, at once so desirable and so rare, which both enlists our sympathies in the cause of social reform, and endeavours to train them".

The combination of the qualities named was, in some measure, characteristic of the family to which she belonged, but probably in no member was it so perfect as in Helen Bosanquet.

Her judicial discussion of the Family closes with the words :

"The State can never become, nor can it provide, a substitute for family life. . . . Children can develop their highest qualifications only in the sunshine of personal tenderness and affection, and this sunshine can be maintained only in the family."

They are the words, not indeed of a mother, but of a woman who belonged to a family of nine, and conversant from experience at home and in the slums of London with the highest and lowest levels of family life. During September and November, 1902, she contributed to the *Inquirer*, under the heading of "Questions of Social Economics", two articles on "How much can the State do?" and "The Housing Problem".

Of other work which occupied her at this time, we learn from a letter, 2 March, 1903 :

"I am serving on a Committee under the London School Board for helping deaf and blind children when they leave school. I am afraid I shall have to leave it when we go north, but it's good to be in it at the start."

The appointment of Bernard Bosanquet to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews, 1 March, 1903, necessitated removal to

Scotland. Writing, 20 April, 1903, Helen Bosanquet describes their house hunting, and reveals how her principles dictated her practice.

“ Everyone in St. Andrews puts the servants to sleep in the basement, often in dark little rooms opening out of the kitchen. We have had to solve the difficulty by taking a house really a size too large, so that we can, if it seems desirable, shut up the basement rooms. Now I have to devise letters to all the kind ladies, who let us look at their houses, to explain why we could not take them without hurting their feelings. . . .

We like this place very much. On a sunny day, the climate is like Rome in the winter, sparkling and fresh. The sea is beautiful, and the town is full of romantic ruins. . . . The Heath Cottage is in the hands of the painters, so we have taken rooms over one of the little shops in the village, whence we can supervise the work and utilise the garden.”

As the last sentence suggests, residence in Scotland did not mean the abandonment of Heath Cottage, Oxshott, which continued, during vacations, to be occupied. Their home in St. Andrews was 4 Howard Place, “ an unpretentious modern house where we could most easily face the northern winters, close to the links and the sea ”.

Helen Bosanquet, as we have seen, had determined before marriage to continue her work for the Charity Organisation Society, and writing, 14 February, 1904, on the subject of “ Free Meals for Children ”, upon which she shared the critical views of her sister, Mary, she said :

“ I have been preaching in the same cause myself at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and, next week, at Dundee. I am sorry to say that at Dundee the worst sinner is the Unitarian minister, who seems to be quite crazy on the subject. Perhaps it is fortunate he is so bad as he is, for he has managed to offend all the rest of the School Board, and they are not at all prepared to back him. But they must have a better motive than hostility to him.”

The minister referred to was the Rev. Henry Williamson (1839–1925), an old pupil of John Rely Beard, and minister at Dundee for nearly sixty years, 1866–1925.

During 1904–5, Helen Bosanquet contributed a series of five articles to the *Inquirer*, in one of which she deprecated “ such foolish and childish devices as bazaars for raising money for any serious or worthy purpose ” on the ground of “ waste ” and the “ tendency to lessen interest in matters of true importance ”.

A letter written by her mother, 7 June, 1905, throws light on another side of her activities at this period.

“Helen seems to be playing round among the City Companies just now. She sent me an amusing account of a visit to the Watermen’s Company, when the Secretary asked if she had come to apprentice her son. She and Bernard are going to dine with the Cloth-makers, when she is to return thanks for the visitors.”

During July, 1904, she spent a fortnight with her husband in the Norwegian fjords, and next year, a longer holiday was taken among the Italian lakes. On 22 July, 1905, she wrote a letter to the *Inquirer* appealing for support of Bedford College, where two of her sisters had been students, and, at the same time, vigorously defending the higher education of women.

In November, 1905, Helen Bosanquet was appointed a member of the Royal Commission on Poor Law Methods and the Problem of Unemployment, of which Lord George Hamilton was Chairman.

Writing, 1 December, she said :

“I had known for some time that the appointment was possible, but did not think it in the least likely. I feel bewildered now that it has come . . . I really think the Commission has been appointed quite without reference to popularity or political questions. . . .”

Her work as a member of the Committee frequently took her from St. Andrews, as she visited workhouses in all parts of Ireland and Wales as well as England. During her absence from home, she heard daily from her husband.

As the wife of an eminent scholar and herself a woman of conspicuous ability, Helen Bosanquet met many of the leading scholars and thinkers of the first decade of this century, including, amongst others, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Haldane and Professor Gonner, the well-known economist. In a letter written, 4 April, 1907, quoted by her in the life of her husband, she says :

“We have had rather a nice time this graduation ; the Master of Trinity, Dr. Butler, came for an honorary degree. He was Bernard’s head master at Harrow, and it is delightful to see his affection for Bernard. We were asked to meet him at lunch yesterday ; our old Principal was there, and it was good to hear them telling stories against one another, and talking about old statesmen they had known—chiefly Disraeli.”

In 1906, Helen Bosanquet published the *Family*, a volume divided into two parts, the first, “an attempt to explain some of

the leading theories and facts of the history of the past, and to show their bearing upon the modern family ", the second, " an analysis and description of this modern family, and a consideration of its influence in social life ".

In March, 1908, Bernard Bosanquet resigned his chair at St. Andrews on account of ill health, and, in the spring of the same year, his wife broke down from overwork in connection with the Commission. Writing from Oxshott, 1 July, 1908, she says :

" It's all I can do to struggle on with the Commission work. I am leading a very lazy life between short intervals of writing for the Commission. I had the Secretary down yesterday, and, though it was rather tiring, I got through pretty well."

Much of her writing at this time was, perforce, done in bed, and this illness was but one of several that continued intermittently for some years. Writing, 15 February, 1909, she said :

" I am much stronger, and expect to have a long lazy time before me, as soon as I have seen my little book about the Poor Law Report safe through the press. To-day, I am simply doing nothing, and must confess to feeling rather at a loss. It is not quite easy, after working at high pressure for a long time, to drop into idleness."

The volume mentioned was "*The Poor Law Report of 1909*. It was designed to make clear the main intent of the Report."

A copy of this book was sent by Helen Bosanquet, at the request of her sister, to a gentleman she had not met and did not know, in America. The circumstances were related by Mary Dendy in a letter from Boston, U.S.A., to her mother. Dr. Cabot, chief physician of the General Hospital in Boston, was a great admirer of the Bosanquets.

" He and his wife had been following all that Bernard Bosanquet wrote and all that Helen Dendy wrote. Then they saw a book by Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, and concluded that something had happened. Last year, being in England, he was longing to call upon them, but feared to intrude . . . I offered to ask Helen to send him a copy of her book on the Poor Laws, and he was so gratified. I had meant to buy it for him, but it was so evident that it would give more pleasure to receive it direct. Such a privilege it is to have distinguished relations !

Helen Bosanquet's work on the Poor Law Commission was fully recognised by her colleagues, one of whom wrote :

" I thought that Mrs. Bosanquet, a quiet, delicate woman, who spoke very little, possessed the best balanced mind of the whole lot of

us, and Lord George Hamilton probably thought the same, for the preparation of the draft of the Majority Report for submission to the Commission was, I believe, nearly altogether the work of these two."

Shortly afterwards, Helen Bosanquet learnt that St. Andrews University proposed to confer upon her the honorary degree of LL.D. Writing, 1 March, 1909, from Oxshott, she said :

"Very many thanks for your kind letter of congratulation. Yes, we are both pleased about it. I have always wanted to have a degree, but never thought there was much chance of it. I don't suppose one will feel very different as a person, but I am particularly glad the St. Andrews people should do it. I am rather sleepy and dull this afternoon. B. has gone to London to attend a meeting of the London Library Committee, and I can't get a proper walk because of the snow. . . . Even the little dog rebels ; her legs are so short that her poor little body is almost on the ground, and finds it very cold. . . ."

Indisposition prevented her from reading her paper on "Poor Law Reform" at the Bolton meeting of the National Conference of Unitarians and Liberal Christians, on 22 April, and, in her absence, it was read by her brother John.

On 4 May, she writes :

"I have just finished a batch of work for our Scottish Report. The Committee will meet sometime this month to consider it, and then I hope we shall really have finished. . . ."

The finish was reported in due course, 22 June, 1909 :

"We have just signed our Report—last Saturday. It is a ponderous volume of very unequal merit, but, on the whole, I think it is very good. We were dreadfully hurried towards the end. The Government had quite resolved to bring in a Bill next Session, and kept on pressing us to report. It will be a fortnight or more before it is published. They say the evidence of different sorts will fill 40-50 volumes ; I should have thought 20-30 might have taken it. . . ."

Indifferent health did not render Helen Bosanquet deaf to the call of duty, and when one avenue to service closed, she found another open.

Writing 10 August, 1909, she asked her sister Mary if she could "recommend any good contributors to the *Charity Organisation Review*. I am going to take up the editorship of it in October. I hope the work will just suit me, for I don't get strong, and have to stay quiet at home. It is a good little paper of solid worth, but its circulation is very small, and that prevents one paying contributors much. They must do it *gratis*. I want, if I can, to give it a wider range, both of interest and circulation."

She continued to edit the *Review* until it was discontinued twelve years later.

In September, she took a cure at Bad Nauheim, spending "most of the time reading and writing", and finding "editing work a great resource". The result of the cure proved disappointing, and, a year later, she describes herself as "more and more like a hobbled donkey looking on at a race. I am very well so long as I do nothing". Three days before Christmas, 1910, she says: "I just sit by the fire and spin"—a statement not intended to be taken too literally. Meanwhile, her husband had been in a nursing home, October, 1910, and henceforth had to exercise great care. A holiday at Bournemouth availed little, and 12 February, 1911, Helen Bosanquet, in her own words, was "living pianissimo".

But her interest in public affairs never waned. Writing 21 December, 1911, she refers to Women's Suffrage.

"I have felt for some time like the Englishman abroad; 'Just you marquez mes mots, j'ecrirais une lettre au *Times*'. And now I've done it—in answer to Mrs. Humphry Ward. It's about Women's Suffrage, so perhaps you wouldn't approve, but she does annoy me something dreadful."

The letter not merely betrays some annoyance at the futility of Mrs. Ward's arguments; it is expressive of deep conviction based upon experience.

"We have all heard of princesses hugging their chains; it has been reserved for the women of the twentieth century to insist on hugging the chains of their fellow prisoners also. . . . Mrs. Ward appeals to her knowledge of the poorer women. I too have been there, with the result that even if I thought they were mistaken in their anticipation of all the vote might do for them, I hope I should stand humbly aside and place no stumbling-block in the way of their effort to raise their status. But they are not mistaken. The franchise will not at once bring higher wages or shorter hours of work, or good husbands. Nevertheless, their instinct is a right one, for it will bring them at once something at least of the respect and consideration which form the basis upon which we more fortunate women build our lives. . . . If it is political intelligence we are in search of, has Mrs. Ward in her wide experience never addressed an audience of Scottish working women? Is she not acquainted with the working women of Lancashire and Yorkshire? The more I see and know of our working sisters, the more I am amazed at the sheer waste of practical wisdom in our country due to the exclusion of women from politics."

In the Suffrage Movement Helen Bosanquet took little active part. "It's bound to come", she once said, "if women go on doing their work and doing it well." With the methods of the Militants she had no sympathy. Writing, 10 August, 1912, she said :

"Don't you think life gets more and more interesting for women? Even when one has to stand aside, one gets a bigger share in it than in the old days. But what a dreadful business it is about the suffragettes. The Dublin theatre affair was quite wicked."

The last sentence refers to the attempt to set fire to the Theatre Royal, Dublin, where Mr. Asquith was to speak, at the close of the performance which preceded the meeting.

In the same letter is revealed Helen Bosanquet's continued interest in the welfare of the unfortunate.

"I have a 'case' on hand which would interest you—not feeble-minded though. A London widow, very poor, supporting three children by tailoring, came here for a few days' holiday. 'Were you born in the country?' I said, to make conversation. 'No,' she answered, 'I expect you think so because of my complexion. My grandfather was a sugar planter in Jamaica who married a native.' I had wondered at her curiously shaped and coloured face, but had not attached any particular meaning to it. So I have built up a romance around it, and am writing to the C.O.S. in Jamaica to see if I can't discover wealthy relations for the poor little woman."

In the winter of 1912, when her husband completed his Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh, she accompanied him there. On 3 November, 1912, she wrote :

"Our time is drawing to a close. We go home next week. I have kept myself secret so far from the Edinburgh Social Workers set, in order to be able to see St. Andrews friends, and Bernard's cousinhood."

Early in 1914 she published *Social Work in London, 1869-1912: A History of the Charity Organisation Society*, her last work for a Society in whose principles she had supreme confidence to the last. Apologising in the Preface for the sober narrative which followed, she continues :

"It must lack, too, the human appeal which attends upon revelations of the private life of individuals; we all like to read about a man's early struggles to establish himself in life, especially when he is encompassed about by the machinations of enemies and rivals; and our sympathies are easily aroused by his subsequent difficulties with

his family—with the sons who get into debt or repudiate his authority, and the daughters who fall in love with the wrong curates or demand a latchkey.”

This not merely illustrates admirably her style of writing ; it dates her period—a transitional period when women were asserting their independence, and it discloses the half-expressed dislike of the biographer making much of little, revealed in an earlier letter to her sister, 10 August, 1912 :

“ I am very glad to write to you, my dear, but there’s little to write about in my uneventful life. And don’t save it for posterity. Do you ever reflect how horribly littered over Posterity will get with the débris from the past ? It will have no room for any life of its own.”

Zoar, A Book of Verse, by Helen and Bernard Bosanquet, published August, 1919, contains translations from Greek, Latin and German by Bernard Bosanquet, and original verse by Helen Bosanquet, some of which had appeared in *Punch* and the *Westminster Gazette*. *Zoar* is the name of the city described (Gen. xix. 22) as “ near to flee unto ” and “ a little one ”.

Modest prefatory lines run :

“ Artists who wield a finely tempered blade
Forbear to blunt the keen edge of the steel
In shaping matter for our daily needs ;
But workmen when their day’s long toil is done
May turn their heavier tools to lighter ends
And fashion little objects for their joy.

So we, whose pens have laboured long in prose
Turn them to verse as day draws to a close.”

A few of her poems were inspired by the Great War, and their titles indicate the circumstances of their origin : “ Oxshott Common in War Time ”, “ They shall renew their Youth ”, “ The Old Woman’s War Work,” “ Boys and Men ”, “ The Puzzled Conscience ”. The two last, as personal in their reference, may be quoted.

A BIRTHDAY GREETING

Fifty-nine’s a lovely age,
All the wisdom of the sage,
With the stores of manhood’s prime
Still untouched by thieving Time.
Life’s completest, richest page,
Fifty-nine’s a lovely age.

GLEANERS

Lest any of Life's harvest should be lost
 God sets old people dreaming in their chairs,
 To glean the field of memory, whence the host
 Of chroniclers have reaped the golden ears.

The old folks wander through forgotten hours,
 And bring back treasures overlooked before ;
 Ripe grain, and scarlet weeds, and little flowers
 Of joy and sorrow, over which they pore."

"The Rock" is the writer's tribute to her husband. As the rock in the pool

"So stands the thinker, fixed on truth below
 And reaching high to catch fresh rays of light,
 Meeting the torrent in its noisy flow
 Of doubt, and broken thought, and jealous spite.
 While in his shelter peace and clear-eyed love
 Lie still and deep, and in their calm I move."

Professor Ernest Hocking (Camb., Mass.), acknowledging a copy from her husband, bade him

"say to Mrs. Bosanquet that her poem 'The Wanderers' especially moved me. Such words, after all, do much to make a visible church of these free wanderers, for recognition is the essence of the church, and there is hardly any joy on earth that compares with it. Let me say to her also—passing your ears—that I understand that beautiful portrait in 'The Rock' and join in her reverence."¹

During the spring and summer of 1920 the Bosanquets occupied a country house near the sea in Carmarthenshire, where John Dendy spent Whitsuntide with them.

In June, 1921, Helen Bosanquet underwent a serious operation, from the effects of which she recovered but slowly. In October, 1922, the Bosanquets, both of whom were largely confined to home, moved to Heathgate, Golders Green, where they could be near to Arthur Dendy and his family. Bernard Bosanquet informed a nephew: "We regret this beautiful place, of course. But we shall be nearer friends, freer in our minds and close to the far side of Hampstead Heath, the quiet side. There is a Friends' Meeting House close to, where we may find a congenial atmosphere perhaps." With them lived a niece, who had been a constant visitor for some years. Bernard Bosanquet died 8 Febru-

¹ *Bernard Bosanquet and His Friends*, ed. J. H. Muirhead, p. 221.

ary, 1923. The service at the Crematorium was conducted by Dr. Henry Gow, Professor at Manchester College, and formerly minister at Hampstead.

After her husband's death, Helen Bosanquet was to know more intimately than before the reveries of "Gleaners in their Chairs". Writing, 17 August, 1923, she said :

"Arthur left yesterday. . . . I shall miss him very much, for he has been coming in frequently to see me, and to take me out in mother's old chair. I am keeping well, but somehow walking doesn't suit me, so that the chair is a great help. . . ."

In 1924 was published by the Nobel Institute an Essay written by Helen Bosanquet, 1921-2, on *Free Trade and Peace in the Nineteenth Century*. "Its conclusions", she said, "are based upon the course of events in the nineteenth century ; but I believe that their validity has been confirmed rather than weakened by subsequent history." A large octavo of 155 pages, the Essay is no mere eulogy of Free Trade, but a discriminating and balanced survey of its tendencies and actual operation, based upon the history of the commercial and industrial developments in Europe, America and Africa. In view of the changed attitude towards Free Trade in England since Helen Bosanquet wrote, a few of her conclusions deserve to be recorded.

"In the world as it is, with all the monopolies and national jealousies and rivalries which it has acquired, the introduction of a new system or policy may be attended with such friction as will completely counteract its inherent tendency, and convert what would naturally be a motive to peace into an incitement to war."

"The forcing of Free Trade upon a reluctant nation has been a prolific source of war in the nineteenth century."

"Again, there are certain branches of Trade, which are highly conducive to war, or even depend upon it for their existence. Such are the trade in slaves, in drink to the backward races, in munitions. Free Trade in these cases does not promote friendly intercourse, and must be esteemed as actually conducive to war."

"On the other hand, Protection, which has no inherent tendency to promote friendly intercourse, has been a potent cause of increasing friction in Europe throughout the nineteenth century. We have seen that friction manifesting itself in tariff wars, and in the arming of nations in hostile factions until only a spark was needed to set Europe in a blaze. Finally, underlying all particular manifestations of hostility is the difficult problem of nationality, which has played an ever-increasing part in determining issues of peace and war ; and the question arises, how should the national characteristics of a

people be developed in order to fit it to live harmoniously amongst other nations ? . . . The twofold correspondence, on the one hand to national aptitudes, on the other hand to the needs of other nations, is only to be attained by constant inventiveness and adaptation ; and that inventiveness and adaptation it is the special function of the commercial and industrial elements in a nation to supply. When they fail in this, and rely upon the State to make good their deficiencies by force or diplomacy or Protection ; then the nation which they represent will fail to develop either its full national characteristics, or the characteristics which adapt it to play its part as member of a harmonious group of nations."

Helen Bosanquet's life of her husband, already named, was published in 1924. A delicate and beautiful sketch, embodying a valuable elucidation of his philosophy, it proved to be her last writing. When it was completed, she wrote to a friend :

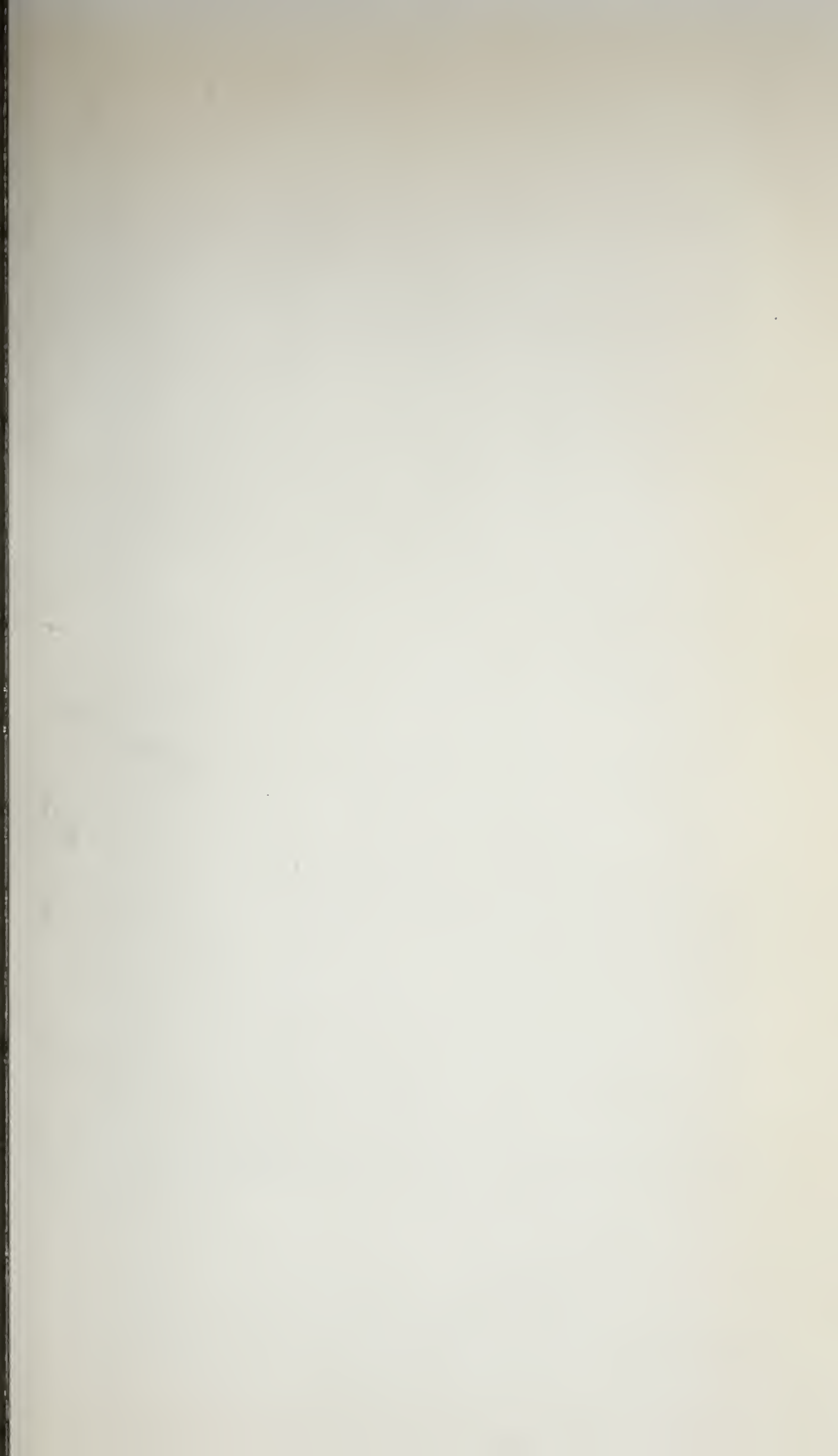
" I am wondering what I can turn to next. I think of starting a big job of plain sewing—that would help to pass the time, and I like hemming."

No long time passed, when her labours and her loneliness ended, 7 April, 1925, exactly a fortnight after the death of her brother Arthur, the constant stay and support of her brief widowhood.

A contemporary tribute in Newnham College Roll Letter well said :

" She wrote with great charm and freshness, and many a social subject often voted dull became living in her hands. She was always somewhat suspicious of wide generalisations and sweeping reforms ; it was thoroughness and sureness and infinite pains that always appealed to her most."

Few women had done more in her time to justify their right to be considered worthy to take part on equal terms with men in academic and political life, and, by her social service, her writings, and her labours for the Royal Commission, Helen Bosanquet made a substantial contribution to economic and political science in the nineteenth century.





ARTHUR DENDY

ARTHUR DENDY, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.Z.S.

(20 January, 1865—24 March, 1925)

ARTHUR DENDY, eighth child and fourth son of John and Sarah Dendy, was born at Patricroft, near Manchester, 20 January, 1865. He began his education at the Manchester Grammar School and proceeded to Owens College in 1881, the year after the establishment of Victoria University, of which Owens was then the only constituent college. After attending classes in Chemistry, Biology, Botany, French and German, in which he took several prizes, he graduated B.Sc. in 1884, and in the same year won the Dalton Natural History Prize. He was secretary of the Students' Biological Society and a member of the Union Committee for a year. He then read for honours in Zoology under Milnes Marshall and in 1885 was placed in the Second Class—the only candidate and the first graduate in the school in the new university.

In the middle of his course, his parents moved from Monton to Newport, Isle of Wight, and he spent the two last years in Manchester, living with two sisters and a brother.

Shortly after the close of his college course, he went to the Biological Station at Millport, and as a result of work there published his first two papers on Echinodermata. He was then appointed temporary assistant on the editorial staff of the *Challenger* expedition. The *Challenger* from December, 1872, to May, 1876, had explored the oceans—incidentally it was the first steamship to cross the Antarctic circle—and completed a voyage without parallel in the history of scientific research. Its *Report*, 1880–95, occupied fifty volumes. Arthur Dendy completed the memoirs on the monaxonid sponges for the *Report*, and thus, at the age of 21, began work in a field in which he was to become a recognised authority. In 1887, when he graduated M.Sc., he was appointed Assistant, under Jeffrey Bell, in the Zoological Department of the British Museum. His publications, in 1887, were brief reports on *Challenger* finds, and on “A Zoological Collection made by officers of H.M.S. *Flying Fish* at Christmas Islands”. After two years at the Museum, he accepted an invitation from the University

of Melbourne, made at the suggestion of Walter Baldwin Spencer, who had recently been appointed Professor of Biology there, to become demonstrator and assistant lecturer on Biology.

Even before he took up his residence in London, Dendy frequently visited "Folly House", High Garrett, where his sister Mary was companion to Miss Cawston. He was there in the Christmas vacation of 1884, and in the following September a week's visit ended by his taking Mary to London and conducting her over Westminster Abbey. On 19 May, 1887, Miss Cawston and Mary spent an hour or two with him at the Museum, and, on 21 June, he secured for his sister a seat in a window of the Linnæan Society's Library, from which to view the procession forming part of the celebrations of the Queen's Jubilee. He himself watched it from the roof of the building.

Another visitor at "Folly House" was Miss Ada Margaret Courtauld, youngest daughter of the late Louis Courtauld, barrister, who spent part of the winter of 1887 at High Garrett. New Year's Day, 1888, was apparently eventful. When afternoon tea was over, the two went out and tried to skate with the aid of a lantern. The appointment to Melbourne, made at the end of the year, brought matters to a head. On 12 January, 1888, it was known that they were engaged. A fortnight later, Arthur Dendy sailed for Melbourne. Miss Courtauld followed him, reaching Melbourne on 6 November, and the marriage took place on the 4th of December. Housekeeping began at "Tarooma", High Street, St. Kilda—a one-story building on a splendidly wide road, with a little garden at the front running up to the verandah, hung with creepers, and, at the back, a yard opening into another little garden; two sitting-rooms, three bedrooms, and "the kitchen, pantry and bathroom, so to speak, half out of doors".

To the University of Melbourne (established 1855), which was undenominational, three colleges were affiliated—Trinity College (Anglican), Ormond College (Presbyterian), and Queen's College (Wesleyan).

In 1889, Dendy was elected Fellow of Queen's College. From the beginning, he made the most of the opportunities presented to him by residence on a Continent whose zoology was unique, and, at that date, but imperfectly known to scientists. Some of his most notable contributions to science resulted from his observations of Australian fauna published in a long series of papers on the anatomy and development of some of the most interesting

animals in Australia. The discovery of these involved him in expeditions far afield, often accomplished only with laborious toil and not infrequently at peril to life and limb.

Writing to Mary Dendy, 15 November, 1889, of a visit to a kinsman, he said :

“ This week I have read two papers—one, ‘ Zoological Notes on a Trip to Walhalla ’, a Monday night at the Field Naturalists, quite popular—the other, last night, on ‘ Sponges ’ at the Royal Society. My expedition to Walhalla ¹ turned out very interesting, and, besides numerous ‘ Beasties ’, I brought away a roll of old family papers which Henry Dendy lent me, and which carry back the family further, I think, than any father has, and makes us start from Hayfield, in Derbyshire, before settling in the South. I hope to get them all copied out. It was curious to find them away in the backwoods of Australia, more than 100 miles from Melbourne. Henry Dendy is an engineer in a fair sort of way at one of the gold mines—his father having lost all his property by sheer stupidity. If he had had a grain of sense, he would have been one of the richest men in Australia, by the simple process of keeping what he had got, and without any need for speculation or work of any kind. . . .

There is a son of William and Mary Howitt ² out here, a well-known anthropologist and geologist, a very clever man, pretty old now, who knows more about the natives probably than anybody living, and who managed to get himself elected a chief of one of their tribes because the natives took him for the ghost of one of their departed friends. So he learned all their little ways, and has written a good deal about them. We elected him a Fellow of Queen’s College—or are going to soon. I had arranged to make an exploring expedition up country with him in December, but fear it will fall through owing to our matriculation examination. Next week, probably, I shall run down to Geelong for a night, to examine some sponges. I fear I shall not get away this summer, as we have the meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science here in January. . . . ”

Writing next month, on hearing of the death of Miss Cawston, he said :

“ I can’t help feeling that I have lost one of the best friends I ever had. . . . I hope after all to get away to Mount Wellington next week with Mr. Howitt. . . . We shall not return till after Christmas, and so we shall keep Christmas one day next week before I go. . . . I am going to be photographer to the expedition (consisting of Mr. Howitt, Mr. Lucas and myself), and am taking father’s stereoscopic

¹ On Mary Dendy’s later trip to Walhalla, see pp. 149–51.

² Alfred William Howitt (1830–1908), see *D.N.B.*

camera with which I have been getting some excellent results. . . . Mr. Howitt has got the horses, three riding and two pack horses, and we shall camp out several nights about the mountains and the new lake, and make our own bread, etc. . . .

When we return, I shall be busy with the Australasian Association, which finishes about the middle of January, and then I hope we shall all get away for a quiet holiday. . . .”

A letter, dated 25 March, 1890, announces the arrival of a daughter nine days earlier, and adds :

“ We are thinking of building a house with Miss Cawston’s legacy, as rents are so terribly high and apparently going up still, and houses all so insanitary and otherwise unsatisfactory out here. . . .”

On 9 January, 1891, Mary Dendy went out to her brother, learning *en route* that he had been awarded the D.Sc. for research by Victoria University—the first of its doctorates in science. On her arrival, 14 February, she found “ Arthur looking much older, very much darker, and hardly like an Englishman ”, and learnt that “ he had bought some land for a fruit-farm at Mildura ”.

The two went on excursions to the shore collecting specimens for dissection by students, Arthur in waders up to the middle and Mary gaining an introduction to marine zoology and its nomenclature. At home, besides making herself useful in the house, Mary copied her brother’s writings and acted as his amanuensis. With him she attended the celebrations on Queen’s College Foundation Day, described in a letter to a friend, 21 June, 1891 :

“ They consisted of a little praying and a little speechifying, followed by music and recitations by students. It would have been intolerably dull, but that one of the young theologians threw a bombshell into the proceedings, scattering their propriety and shocking many of the good Wesleyans by reciting a very stirring and animated piece of poetry in the character of a jockey just winning a race ‘ by a short head ’. . . .”

The minister, who had recently settled at the Unitarian Church, Melbourne, was the Rev. John McDowell (1849–1919), an old student under John Relly Beard. He regularly visited the Dendys, grandchildren of his old tutor, and introduced to them English Unitarians visiting Melbourne.

Life in Melbourne at this time of year had its trials. Mary Dendy tells a friend :

“ I can’t get on with my letter. I have to keep making dashes at the mosquitoes. When the sun sets, it seems to get closer. A hot

dry wind blows steadily, and brings clouds of dust and swarms of mosquitoes. We keep doors and windows shut and blinds down all day, and no one goes into town who is not obliged to. I had to go into town on Friday, and came back half choked with dust and half blinded with the glare. . . .”

She left Melbourne for home, 18 July, 1891.

In 1892, Arthur Dendy published *Notes on the Planarians of Tasmania and South Australia*, and, in collaboration with Mr. A. B. Lucas, *An Introduction to the Study of Botany*, with a Preface by Walter Baldwin Spencer. He spent some time during the summer in New Zealand, and, shortly afterwards, was invited to take charge of the Department of Biology at Canterbury College, University of New Zealand, at Christchurch. The University of New Zealand, founded 1870, is a federal institution to which are affiliated colleges at Christchurch, Auckland, and Dunedin. Christchurch, a city upon the great Canterbury plain with its port at Lyttelton eight miles away, is a desirable place of residence. Arthur Dendy was not loth to leave Melbourne where insanitary and climatic conditions were not the only drawbacks to life in that city. Writing, 27 June, 1893, to Mary, he said :

“ You will have heard before this of my appointment to New Zealand. We shall probably leave for Christchurch in January next, and are hoping that you may make up your mind to come out before then, so that you will be able to go over with us. . . . I hope it will turn out well. I think it will be a pleasant place for the children. I am hoping that it may prove a permanent settlement, for though the appointment is only a lectureship, it is an independent position, and only differs from that of a professorship (of whom there are only four) in point of salary, which is £500 instead of £750. Moreover, I am told on tolerably good authority that there is no doubt they will make it into a professorship before very long. Another advantage of the place is the length of the summer vacation, which will allow plenty of time for original work, and greatly facilitate a trip home some time. . . . It is likely they will be building me a lecture room and laboratory. . . . Here things are settling down into a dead level of financial depression without much prospect of a change for the better, and people are congratulating me on getting out of it. Personally, the financial crisis has made very little difference to me, for my bank is one of the very, very few which has not suspended. . . . I am giving my Extension Course on Elementary Biology for the fourth time, and have a most enthusiastic class at Melbourne, some 20 or 30 of whom meet together between the lectures for ‘ practical work ’ on their own account. . . .”

On 10 November, 1893, Mary Dendy went again to Australia, and on 29 January, 1894, sailed with her brother and his family for New Zealand. The Dendys settled, 17 February, in St. Alban's Road, Christchurch—"a wooden house on a hill, with three sitting-rooms, kitchen, etc., and five bedrooms, a large garden and orchard". The new lecturer addressed his students for the first time in the evening of 13 March. Eighteen days later, Mary Dendy set out for home. Next year, Arthur Dendy became first Professor of Biology in Canterbury College, University of New Zealand.

"On reaching New Zealand", we are told, "he lost no time in going in search of *Sphenodon*, and, on finding that there was serious danger that the enterprise of collectors would lead to its early extinction, he made urgent and successful appeals to the Government for its protection. He was the first to write an account of the development of this reptile, and to record many important features of its anatomy and natural history."¹

Writing, 17 March, 1896, announcing the arrival of a third daughter (called Mary Courtauld after aunt and mother), he spoke of the prospects of his department and of an adventure whilst engaged in search of specimens.

"I am starting in my new building with a large increase of students—30 altogether—quite as many as I know what to do with. We had a delightful opening ceremony on Friday evening last. . . . Ada will have told you of my trip to the West Coast on my bicycle. I got a lot of Planarians. . . . I also nearly got drowned in the Otira, walking through with the water to my middle, and the bicycle on my shoulders. There was a bit of a 'fresh' coming down, for which I had not made proper allowance, and it very nearly swept me to glory—but all's well that ends well. When I got over, I sent a buggy across from the hotel for my companion, who had to stop shivering in the rain on the opposite side whilst they caught the horse and I enjoyed myself with hot whisky and water at the hotel. . . ."

Next month, 1 April, 1896, he writes :

"I have been making a lot more lantern slides of my Australian bush photographs for a lecture on the subject, which I gave to the Students' Dialectic Society last Saturday, and they came out mostly very well. . . ."

In all his scientific work, Mrs. Dendy gave valuable assistance to her husband until the cares of the household made it impossible,

¹ S. J. Hickson, *Nature*, 11 April, 1925.

and was entrusted by him with a case of rare eggs to take to England which required to be kept at an even temperature during the voyage. Increasing family responsibilities were not met by an increasing stipend, and Arthur Dendy wished he could "find a place where everybody isn't hard up".

A great admirer of Huxley, on the receipt of his life, Christmas, 1899, he wrote :

"I am devouring it voraciously and enjoying it immensely. What a rare old champion he was? I fear it will be long before England sees another like him. I think the book does me real good; it is very stimulating. . . . There's little encouragement or sympathy with my interests here. . . . My expected trip to the 'Chathams' has not come off, as I did not like to go to such an 'ungetatable' place just now. . . . I hear from Professor Howes that he is putting me up for the F.R.S., and has got Prof. Lankester, Lord Avebury, and a heap more to sign my certificate. He does not anticipate getting me elected before 1902, if then. Of course, this had better not be talked about. I keep pegging away at original work. . . .

I fear this is rather a gloomy letter, but you must not think I am ill. . . ."

Much of Dendy's original work was contributed to the Royal Society, Victoria, of which, as of the Royal Society, Tasmania, he was a member. His election to the Royal Society (London) was deferred much beyond the date he mentioned. The trip to the "Chathams" was not undertaken until January, 1901. An earlier one is referred to in a letter, dated 16 February, 1900. In a letter to his sister Mary, acknowledging the gift of Wendell Holmes' "Breakfast Table" books, he added :

"By the way, I once saw them sold by auction at Wellington as 'Cookery Books'. . . . Wendell Holmes is one of my favourite authors. . . . Since Christmas I have had a good holiday trip to the Southern Lakes district with Professor Wall. We went to Lake Te Arran, and thence walked over to Milford Sound, over McKinnon's Pass. The scenery is about the finest in New Zealand, but the travelling is rough and wearisome. However, I discovered some very interesting little beasties, which are quite new to Science and very remarkable. So I feel repaid for the trouble. We travelled from Te Arran to Milford Sound with a Mr. and Mrs. Broadhurst,¹ of Manchester. Mrs. Broadhurst was a Miss Ashton and knew you and others of my people, so we had plenty to talk about. . . ."

¹ Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Tootal Broadhurst had married Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Ashton, of Ford Bank, Didsbury, a well-known Unitarian.

Of the expedition to the Chatham Islands, Dendy gave an account in a lecture, delivered at the invitation of the Council, to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 4 March, 1902. The journey there involved "two and a half days bucketing about on a rough sea in a small steam boat with a thousand live sheep as travelling companions". Except during the wool season, the boat ran "only once in every two months". The section on "Ethnology" in the lecture had been previously communicated "with little difference beyond the addition of illustrations, to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury", in whose *Proceedings* it had appeared. It had also been "used for an article in the Christchurch Press", 11 December, 1901, on "The Extinction of the Moriori". Of these natives, he met several.

"At the time of my visit, there were only a dozen pure-blooded individuals left; some of them were of great age whilst the youngest was a lad of about 16."

In August, 1901, the Dendys resolved to visit England, after an absence of fourteen years. They set sail, 7 November, and arrived 29 December. Whilst staying with his brother John at Swinton, Arthur Dendy renewed his acquaintance with Owens College as well as with his numerous relatives and friends. The Jubilee of Owens College was celebrated, March, 1902, when the Whitworth Hall was opened by the present king, then Duke of York, and, at the ceremony on 13 March, Arthur Dendy presented the Address of Congratulation from the University of New Zealand, "the most distant University in His Majesty's dominions". The Address referred to Dendy as one "qui rite summos honores in Universitate vestra olim adeptus alumnus". Whilst in England, he became a member of the British Association, with whose work he was later to be closely identified.

Towards the end of January, 1903, Arthur Dendy was appointed Professor of Zoology in the South African College, Cape Town, and, instead of returning to New Zealand, he sailed in February for South Africa. Life in New Zealand had not been without its compensations, apart from the field of scientific discovery it provided. Dendy greatly appreciated the free and friendly colonial life, and an attractive garden at Christchurch to which he gave much care was among the joys he left behind.

In South Africa, the Boer War had only ended, 31 May, 1902, and the work of reconstruction had not long begun. The South

African College was one of seven institutions preparing students for degrees in the University of Good Hope, which was modelled on that of London. Though founded as early as 1829, the College was still greatly in need of equipment. It was, therefore, something of an adventure for an English scholar to accept a chair in Cape Town at that date. Probably the attraction was that, unlike the appointments in Melbourne and Christchurch, the chair was in Zoology.

Writing, 1 December, 1903, from Cape Town, he said :

“ We have just started our vacation at College, but I do not think we shall go anywhere this year. I am very busy with Prof. Herdman's Ceylon Sponges, which will keep me going through the summer. The new laboratory is not yet started, though the foundation stone was laid by his Excellency some weeks ago. They seem to have a habit of laying foundation stones here, which sometimes require a long period of incubation before they develop into anything. . . . Life out here seems to me more difficult to manage than in Australia or New Zealand, and I am beginning to feel rather tired of wandering round. . . . ”

In another letter, 10 February, 1904, he told his sister Mary :

“ Events have been moving rather fast with us lately. We have bought a house which is now very nearly finished, together with enough land for a nice garden, and I think we shall all feel more comfortable when we get into it and have a little more room—but the expense is something awful. There is a big oak tree in the garden, which will give us shade all day, and forms one of the chief attractions of the place ; so we propose to call the house ‘ Broad Oak ’, which will also have many old associations.¹

At the College, they are just beginning the new laboratories for Zoology, Botany, Geology, and Engineering, and the Council has accepted a tender for £61,000 for the lot, in two blocks of buildings. Of course, the Zoological Laboratory is being built according to my own plans, and I think it will be really first-rate and thoroughly up-to-date. I fear, however, it will be a long time before we have many students, but the College intends to develop the medical side, and that ought to bring men. At present, there is no medical school in South Africa !

Tell Mr. Hoyle² I shall hope to see him here with the British Association next year. . . . ”

¹ “ Broad Oak ” was the name of a family house.

² W. E. Hoyle was Director of the Manchester Museum. See pp. 168, 176.

Part of the next long vacation the Dendys spent at Hout Bay, whence he wrote :

“ Some others of the College people are here, so that we are not lonely. It is a pretty place, with sea and mountain scenery, about ten miles from Cape Town, and accessible only by driving, walking, or cycling, which makes it much quieter than most watering-places. It is all very primitive and insanitary, of course, just a little fishing village, with a few farms in the neighbourhood and crowds of pic-nickers on Saturday and Sunday. . . .”

Arthur Dendy, however, was not in Cape Town to welcome his Manchester friends to the meetings of the British Association there. Early in 1904, he was appointed Professor of Zoology at King's College, London. It had always been his desire to settle ultimately in England, and he remained in London for the rest of his life. In June, 1905, he took up his appointment, and his residence at “ Firsdene ”, Oatlands Drive, Weybridge, whence he removed, August 1911, to “ Vale Lodge ”, Hampstead, and, finally, to 113 Corringham Road, Golders Green.

At King's College, he may be said to have almost established his department. “ He made good laboratories from the unpromising material of what had been a residential college ; he equipped them adequately, and built up an excellent teaching museum and a good library ”.¹

In 1905, he was elected Fellow of the Linnæan Society, and Fellow of the Zoological Society, London, whilst his membership of the British Association began to mean much more. In 1906, at the York Meeting, he read a paper on “ The Pineal Sense Organs and Associated Structures in *Geotria* and *Sphenodon* ”. At Portsmouth, 1911, he read one paper, and Mary Dendy read another. He heard his sister's contribution and spoke upon it. The association of brother and sister in this way at a meeting of the Association cannot have been common.

On 21 August, 1911, he announced his election to the Council of the Association :

“ I was invited to become a permanent member of the General Committee a few months ago, and, perhaps, for that reason, I am being offered hospitality, and am to stay at the Sussex Hotel as the guest of the mayor. . . . I am very busy trying to finish my book before the Portsmouth meeting, which, I hope, will be a bit of a holiday. I have had none yet. . . .”

¹ D. L. Mackinnon, *King's College Review*, June, 1925.

The paper he read was on "Momentum in Evolution", and was ordered to be printed *in extenso*. The book referred to was *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology*, 1912, a third edition of which appeared in 1923. In it he made use of the Aldred Lecture to the Royal Society of Arts, 1909, which had been printed in the Society's *Journal*. For his researches in Sponges, he had been elected, March, 1908, Fellow of the Royal Society. At the Dundee Meeting of the British Association, he spoke on "Reissner's Fibre and the Sub-commisural Organs in the Vertebrate Brain". At the Australian Meeting, 1914, he was President of the Zoology section.

After his death, Sir Charles Sherrington, President of the Royal Society, singled out as worthy of special mention, Dendy's work "on the pineal eye, the discovery of the ciliated grooves below the brain in the New Zealand lampreys, and the paper on the Reissner fibre of the nervous system of Vertebrates".

Arthur Dendy's return to England had brought him again in the full family circle. Visits to and from his relatives in Manchester were common. At Weybridge, Mary Dendy spent many a Christmas with one whom she described as "the dearest and kindest and best of brothers". The Dendys were within cycling distance of the Bosanquets at Oxshott, and the relations between the two families became intimate.

"To the end of his life", said Helen Bosanquet of her husband, "Bernard enjoyed long talks with him (Arthur Dendy) on the many problems which lie on the borderland between biology and philosophy, and took the greatest interest in his work for science."

To the second edition of *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology* a Glossary of Technical Terms was added, which his brother-in-law "revised, with special reference to the Greek and Latin derivations", and in the *Biological Foundations of Society*, 1924, Dendy quoted Bosanquet in support of his arguments. It was whilst staying with the Dendys at Corringham Road in the spring of 1922 that the Bosanquets "decided upon a house within ten minutes' walk" of one whose companionship became increasingly precious to them in days of declining health. To all the members of his family, Arthur Dendy proved helpful. In company with his brother John, he journeyed, April, 1908, to Boulogne to bring home his sisters, Louie and Hetty, the latter being in a precarious state of health. Her death, 29 September, marked the first breach in the family circle since the death of its head, 31 March, 1894. The circle was almost complete in Manchester, 2 July, 1910, when Mary Dendy received

the honorary degree of M.A. from the University, and Arthur, who was his sister's guest, accompanied her after the ceremony to the lunch given by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Alfred Hopkinson.

Later in the summer, after exhibiting his collection of curios connected with the Moriori of Christmas Island at a *conversazione* given by the Royal Society, he joined his brother John and his wife in a continental holiday. On 18 October, 1911, Dendy and his wife suffered a severe affliction in the sudden death of their daughter, aged fifteen, after an operation for adenoids.

To the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911, Arthur Dendy contributed a remarkable illustrated article on "Sponges" (17 double-columned pages), a subject on which he was now a recognised authority. One specimen illustrated, "*Leucosolenia* (Dendya) *tripodifera*", first discussed by him in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Victoria, will always associate his name with his researches in this branch of science. A writer in *The Times* observed: "It is recognised as a masterly exposition of the state of knowledge, written with a judicial fairness where his own opinions differ from those of other teachers."

One of Dendy's special interests peeps out in a letter dated 16 April, 1912, written from "The Laboratory, Citadel Hill, Plymouth". He speaks first of the reception of his book.

"So far the book has been well received. There have been only two proper reviews as yet, viz. in the *Athenæum* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, both quite favourable. I have also had appreciative letters from colleagues in England, Scotland and Ireland, including Professor Hickson, who writes very generously about it.

"I have been here for a week, working at the Laboratory; have only had one day's dredging so far, as the material I want can be got in any quantities on the shore at low tide. It is rather dreary work staying in an Hotel by myself, but I spend most of my time in the Laboratory. . . ."

For many years, Dendy was Chairman and Secretary of the Subcommittee of the British Association which was in charge of the Marine Laboratory at Plymouth.

In 1914, the Association held its meeting in Australia for the first time, holding sessions at each of the five state capitals. Dendy went out, taking his second daughter with him. They sailed on the *Ascanius*. A letter dated 27 June said:

"We had a very exciting time on Tuesday afternoon, being called by wireless to the assistance of the *Gothland*, a 20,000-ton boat (appar-

ently), which had gone on the rocks near Bishop light in the Scilly Islands in a fog. We found her about 8.30 after several hours; a small local salvage tug had already got there, and apparently they were just finishing landing the passengers (500 we were told) in the boat. We had to stand by, only half a mile off, for some time, until they reported that they did not want us. Fortunately, it was very calm, and the fog lifted as we came up to her, but we ran a great deal of risk in going so close as we did. You can imagine the excitement on board. Curiously enough, when the S O S signal came, our crew were actually doing boat-drill, and the passengers were putting on life-belts for practice, and we kept the boats swung out till we got to the wreck. It was a wonderful sight—the wreck and the lighthouse close to us in the fog. . . .

We are going ashore at Las Palmas to-morrow, and have planned an expedition, 46 of us, by motor-bus, making the arrangement by wireless from the boat. The *Ascanius* is an extraordinarily comfortable boat, very roomy and well fitted, and the steadiest I ever travelled on. . . . Professor Herdman¹ has a little laboratory on board for the examination of Planckton, i.e. small floating organisms which he catches by a line net from the seawater pumped up. There are plenty of interesting people on board to talk to, and the voyage will not be dull. . . .”

The Meeting of the Association had only lasted a week when England declared war on Germany, and Arthur Dendy's joy at meeting old Australian friends was dashed by anxiety attending upon the outbreak of the European conflagration. At Melbourne, meetings were held from 13 to 19 August, and Arthur Dendy, on the first day, delivered his Presidential Address to the Zoology section on “Progressive Evolution and the Origin of Species”, reprinted, with modifications, in the third edition of *Outlines of Evolutionary Biology*, 1923.

At Sydney, the University had arranged a *conversazione* for 25 August, at which honorary degrees were to be conferred on several delegates, including Dendy. It was cancelled owing to the death of the Chancellor the previous day, but the degrees were afterwards given *in absentia*. The Association meetings ended, 31 August, after which Dendy visited Tasmania. He arrived at Launceston, 6 September, and subsequently addressed the Royal Society of Tasmania on “Progressive Evolution”. “The plans for homeward journeys of many members had to be changed,

¹ William Abbott Herdman, whose wife was a Holt, held the Chair of Natural History at Liverpool, 1881–1919. He was a Unitarian and a great benefactor to the University.

owing to the requisition of vessels for military purposes ; also arrangements for an official visit to New Zealand by a small party were cancelled.”¹ Dendy and his daughter sailed in the *Otway*, and reached home early in November.

During the War, under a Royal Society Commission, Dendy undertook investigations into methods of preventing grain from being spoiled by the attacks of weevils. “His conclusions”, it is said, “were admirable from the laboratory point of view, but were not easy to apply on the large commercial scale when millions of bushels, spoiling on Australian quays, required remedial treatment.” His researches provided him with materials for a popular lecture at the Bournemouth Meeting of the British Association, 1919, on “Grain Pests and the Storage of Wheat”, and for a lecture, 12 March, 1919, under the auspices of the Imperial Studies Committee of the University of London at King’s College, on “The Conservation of our Cereal Reserves”, an abstract of which appeared in *Nature*, 20 March, 1919.

Arthur Dendy was President of the Quekett Microscopical Club from 1913 to 1917, and his Presidential Addresses were published in the *Journal* of the Club. On 11 May, 1917, he collaborated with Professor J. W. Nicholson in a contribution to the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* upon “The Influence of Vibrations upon the Form of certain Sponge Spicules”. In 1917–18, he inaugurated a series of lectures at King’s College, in which he secured the co-operation of various eminent zoologists, who explained in popular fashion the services which zoology could render the community. The lectures were published in 1919, edited by Dendy, who contributed the introductory address on “Man’s Account with the Lower Animals”. This admirably illustrates his humour and capacity for simple exposition. Speaking on a problem of economic zoology, he said : “I do not profess to be an economic zoologist myself, but in these abnormal times most of us find ourselves attending to other people’s business.” Another example of his humour is reported in a speech at a College Dinner, when, referring to the movement for admitting women, hitherto taught separately, to the classes in the College, he said : “The theological faculty is, of course, disinterested in this matter, since they naturally regard woman as ‘a side issue’.”

In 1918, he was elected a Fellow of King’s College, London.

¹ O. J. R. Howarth, *The British Association : A Retrospect, 1831–1921*.

He was one of a deputation of two (the other was Professor S. J. Hickson of Manchester University) appointed by Section D of the British Association to wait upon the Board of Education with reference to a Report, published in 1919, by the Secondary Schools Examination Council in which the teaching of Zoology in those schools was deprecated. The deputation met with a cool reception and subjected to something like a snub by the Chief Inspector, but a few years later, the objectionable Circular of 1919 was withdrawn and another substituted for it, which definitely encouraged the teaching of Zoology in Schools.

During the Spring Term of 1922, Dendy took part with other scholars in a series of lectures at King's College, published in 1923, under his editorship. He gave the lecture on "Biology".

This year he took up golf seriously as a means to keep fit for work. Writing, 10 December, 1922, he said :

" I have just joined the Hampstead Golf Club with one of my colleagues at King's—the new professor of physiology, and we intend to play regularly. It is not much of a course, but very handy, and I shall be all the better for exercise.

You will be amused to hear that an American reviewer says that I ' Pontificate ' ; sometimes wisely, but always in the best sacerdotal manner. I wonder what A. W. would say if she heard that I had just been put on the Council of King's College—the body which manages the theological department—along with two archbishops and four bishops ! There's something distinctly humorous about it, but it is certainly a great compliment, and shows wonderful liberality on the part of the theologians. I am really quite pleased. I shan't be expected to sign the thirty-nine articles ! "

King's College, it may be remarked, had been founded (1829) as one

" in which while the various branches of literature and science are made subjects of instruction, it shall be an essential part of the system to imbue the minds of youth with a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of Christianity as inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland "

Dendy had a real respect for the rational and spiritual elements in religious faith. He attended Rosslyn Hill Chapel, of which the Rev. Henry Gow was minister, and, like the Bosanquets, occasionally worshipped in a Friends' Meeting House, but, as his words suggest, in theology he stood on the left, and, in common with most of the epigoni of the Huxley-Tyndal tradition in science, attached excessive importance to the purely material factors in life.

On 16 December, 1923, he reported the progress of another volume :

“ I have just finished a course of nine public lectures at King's College on ‘ The Biological Foundations of Society ’, which I have arranged with Constables to publish in book form. . . . ”

Published early in 1924, it represented “ the contribution of a biologist towards the discussion of those social and political problems which confront us to-day ”. Dendy had “ no new theory of society to recommend, and no panacea for social ills to recommend ”. He sought to “ trace the springs of human action more particularly in relation to the organisation and behaviour of human society ”. He found that “ what took place in the world of living beings before mankind came into existence ” constitutes “ the foundations upon which the pyramid of society is really based ”, a verdict, unacceptable, without serious qualification, to Charles Beard and James Martineau. Incidentally, many homely truths are supported by science. “ It is clear, then, that every living being must work for its living, for the cessation of work means death.” Referring to the Morioris of Chatham Islands and their “ peace society ”, he pointed out that they were almost exterminated by the warlike Maoris. Coming nearer home, possibly with an eye on living Englishmen, he observed :

“ We do not allow a ship to be navigated by unqualified officers, and we have done away with quack doctors, but nobody seems to think it necessary to insist upon any real test of the fitness of a member of parliament, or even of a minister of the crown, for his particular duty.”

He illustrated the Mendelian experiments in hereditary by a story.

“ The head of a well-known New Zealand family happened to be in Melbourne, and saw his own name, a rather uncommon one, over a chemist's shop. He went in and said to the chemist, ‘ Excuse my asking, I have got it myself, but have you got six toes ? ’ The chemist had six toes, and the enquirer was able to restore a long-lost branch to the family tree.”

By this time, changes had taken place in Dendy's family. Both his daughters were married, and his son had gone to South Africa. Meanwhile, his reputation for scholarship had travelled far, and on 26 and 28 April, 1924, he lectured at the Universities of Amsterdam and Leyden respectively on “ Reissner's Fibres ”.

In 1924, he produced his last important work, described as “ a

very beautiful and elaborate memoir on the sponges collected by the Terra Nova expedition in the Southern Seas (1910), recognised as a permanent and important contribution to zoological science ”.

In July, he spent a sad fortnight in Manchester in connection with the death of his eldest brother, 14 July, and the subsequent settlement of his affairs. On his 60th birthday, 20 January, 1925, he received a letter of congratulation from his sister Mary, and, in answer, said :

“ Term began last week, and we are in the thick of it. Unfortunately, I am very much mixed up in University politics—member of the Senate, etc.—and it takes up a great deal of time. However, I have been doing a great deal of original work lately, and think I have got some very interesting and novel results. Unfortunately, my private secretary has ‘ crocked up ’, and will not be back till about the middle of next month. We have been having a lot of fog again, and I have a beastly cold which I cannot quite throw off. I wish I could get a place in the sun. . . .”

One morning in March, he rang up his assistant and asked her to lecture in his stead, for awhile, as it was possible he would be obliged to undergo an operation. From King’s College Hospital, he wrote :

“ It is really an interesting experience to be here—something between a picnic and life on board ship.”

His courage was not based on ignorance ; he knew the ordeal he had to face. Just before his operation they let him leave hospital for one short day, and he spent it in his garden at home, pruning his beloved roses—the roses that he was never again to see in flower. He died 24 March, 1925.

Of middle height, clean-shaven, with fine features, dark grey eyes deep-set, and, in middle life, abundant iron-grey hair, Arthur Dendy usually wore dark grey clothes, and the general effect, increased by a certain reticence towards strangers, was one of austerity. But an exterior superficially stern and inflexible concealed, as his friends knew, a warm and kindly nature. Radical in scientific thought, he was conservative in habit. Until the last year of his life he had no secretary, wrote all his many letters with his own hand and copied them in long-hand. Pleasant and easy ways of doing things almost seemed to him bad for the soul, and difficult conditions an excellent discipline, not lightly to be changed. A great reader of novels, one of his favourites was George Meredith, whose works he read and re-read. A clear and

inspiring lecturer and a beautiful draughtsman, by his own research and constant stimulus to students, he won the respect and affection of his pupils. Dominated by a keen sense of duty, he had little patience with those who took life easily, whilst never lacking kindly consideration for less gifted disciples who were plainly exerting their abilities. Much as he disapproved of disorder or "ragging", he sometimes showed surprising tolerance of youthful spirits.

The marks of his scholarship, summed up by a scholar with whom he had crossed swords, were "veracity in record, swift work, accurate observation, clear description, untiring industry, and enthusiasm for biological knowledge".¹ In debate, a hard hitter, he was incapable of malice. An excellent organiser, his experiences as an administrator in the university colleges of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa proved invaluable during his twenty years' work at King's College. When he died, he was busy planning a new laboratory to relieve conditions following on the growth of his department, and was working furiously at a thesis "on a rather startling proposition regarding the spicules of silicious sponges" for the next meeting of the British Association. His work as a scientist extended far beyond the province he had made his own, but here his authority was unchallenged. In a memoir he was described as "the only man in England with a catholic knowledge of sponges, and probably the leading authority of the two or three in the world who could be classed with him".²

Over the main entrance to the Zoological Department, King's College, a tablet was placed bearing the following inscription :

"This Department was organised and developed by Professor Arthur Dendy, D.Sc., F.R.S., who worked in it as Professor of Zoology from 1905 until his death in 1925.

He bequeathed to the College many of his valuable collections which are now housed in this department.

This tablet records the grateful appreciation of the College for his services and his gifts."

The new Honours Laboratory was also named in his honour "The Dendy Laboratory".

¹ G. P. Bidder, *Nature*, 11 April, 1925.

² *Ibid.*

INDEX OF CHAPELS

- Adelaide Unitarian Church, 152.
- Billingshurst General Baptist Chapel, 7, 126.
- Birmingham, Old Meeting, 45.
- Bolton, Bank Street Chapel, 82.
- Bowden Congregational Church, 163.
- Brixton, Effra Road Church, 40.
- Bury, Bank Street Chapel, 113.
- Cheltenham, 128.
- Chichester, General Baptist Chapel, 122.
- Chowbent Chapel, Atherton, 22.
- Coventry, Great Meeting, 91, 141.
- Dean Row Chapel, 57.
- Dukinfield, Old Chapel, 53.
- Dundee, Unitarian Christian Church, 195.
- Flagg, Unitarian Chapel, 24.
- Gee Cross, Hyde Chapel, 33, 39, 40, 41, 53.
- Grey Abbey, Presbyterian Meeting House, 66.
- Hackney, New Gravel Pit Church, 15.
- Hale Chapel, 47.
- Halifax, Northgate End Chapel, 129.
- Halstead, Free Christian Church, 137.
- Hampstead, Rosslyn Hill Chapel, 202, 219.
- High Garrett, 137.
- Horsham, General Baptist Chapel, 122, 128.
- Hull, Bowl-alley Lane Chapel, 109.
- Hyde, Flowery Field Church, 40.
- Kenilworth, 67.
- Knutsford, Brook Street Chapel, 90.
- Liverpool, Hope Street Church, 38, 41.
- Liverpool, Renshaw Street Chapel, 41, 47, 52, 56, 74, 86.
- Liverpool, Ullet Road Church, 74.
- London, Essex Church, 178.
- London, Little Portland Street Chapel, 136.
- Madras, Unitarian Church, 8.
- Malton, Unitarian Chapel, 5.
- Manchester College Chapel, 74, 96.
- Manchester, Cross Street Chapel, 24, 32, 50, 66, 94, 106, 119, 179.
- Manchester, Longsight Free Christian Church, 8.
- Manchester, Moor Street Congregational Church, Rusholme, 13.
- Manchester, Platt Chapel, 100.
- Manchester, Strangeways, 12, 14, 16, 38, 76, 106, 118.
- Melbourne, Unitarian Church, 152, 208.
- Monton Church, 128, 129, 130, 135, 141, 191.
- Mottram, Unitarian Christian Church, 40.
- Newchurch, Bethlehem Unitarian Chapel, 16.
- Newport, Unitarian Christian Church, 128, 129.
- Nottingham, High Pavement Chapel, 46.
- Padiham, Nazareth Unitarian Chapel, 16.
- Portsmouth, Dock Row, 2, 3, 5.
- Portsmouth, High Street Church, 3.

- Rawtenstall, Unitarian Church, 16.
- Sale (Cross Street, Cheshire), 33, 34, 109.
- Salford, Greengate Chapel, 5, 12, 105.
- Shrewsbury, High Street Chapel, 7, 115.
- Stalybridge, 40.
- Stand Chapel, 113.
- Stourbridge, Presbyterian Chapel, 128, 135.
- Stroud, Unitarian Church, 43.
- Tavistock, Abbey Chapel, 115.
- Torquay, Unitarian Church, 83.
- Toxteth, Ancient Chapel, 74, 75.
- Warwick, High Street Chapel, 116.
- Welburn, Unitarian Chapel, 5.

INDEX OF NEWSPAPERS, JOURNALS, ETC.

- All the Year Round*, 141, 147.
Athenæum, *The*, 216.
Biographical Magazine, *The*, 27.
Blackburn Times, *The*, 90.
British Medical Journal, *The*, 172.
British Review, *The*, 26.
Chambers' Journal, 147.
Charity Organisation Society Review,
 169, 192, 193, 198, 199.
Christchurch Press, *The*, 212.
Christian Life, *The*, 27.
Christian Reformer, *The*, 26, 62.
Christian Spectator, *The*, 26.
Christian Teacher, *The*, 26, 109.
Contemporary Review, *The*, 186.
Co-operative News, *The*, 168.
Daily Dispatch, *The*, 169.
Daily News, *The*, 52, 64, 119.
Economic Review, *The*, 186.
Foreign Quarterly Review, *The*, 26.
Inquirer, *The*, 26, 130, 131, 169, 178,
 194, 195, 196.
International Journal of Ethics, 193.
Journal of Education, 193.
*Journal of Quekett Microscopical
 Club*, 218.
Journal of Sacred Literature, *The*,
 26.
Lancashire Faces and Places, 169.
Lancet, *The*, 169.
Liverpool Daily Post, *The*, 46, 64, 87,
 88.
Manchester City News, *The*, 83.
Manchester Examiner and Times,
The, 24, 119.
Manchester Guardian, *The*, 3, 22, 82,
 93, 97, 99, 105, 106, 108, 109,
 147, 162, 168, 170, 173.
Modern Review, *The*, 64.
Monthly Repository, *The*, 26.
National Review, *The*, 62, 147.
Nature, 218.
Nineteenth Century, *The*, 147.
Pall Mall Gazette, *The*, 216.
*Proceedings of the Manchester Literary
 and Philosophical Society*, 212.
Proceedings of the Royal Society, 218.
Prospective Review, *The*, 26.
Punch, 117, 201.
Queen, *The*, 168.
Rock, *The*, 136.
Spectator, *The*, 129, 173, 175, 176.
Sunday School Helper, *The*, 141, 142,
 147.
Tatler, *The*, 147.
Teachers' Notes, 136.
Theological Review, *The*, 45, 47, 48,
 63, 67, 71, 87.
Times, *The*, 55, 173, 183, 199, 216.
Unitarian Chronicle, *The*, 25, 26.
Unitarian Herald, *The*, 20, 23, 27, 62.
Watchman, *The*, 29.
Westminster Gazette, *The*, 201.
Westminster Review, *The*, 26.

INDEX OF PERSONS

- Acton, Lord, 68, 69.
 Addison, Christopher, 90.
 Agate, Charles James, 79.
 Agate, James, 118, 122.
 Agate, Wendy, 134.
 Agnew, Miss, 118.
 Ainsworth, David, 61.
 A Kempis, Thomas, 47.
 Alexander, William Lindsay, 11.
 Allbutt, Sir Clifford, 173.
 Anderson, Mary, 142.
 Armstrong, Richard Acland, 63, 64, 95.
 Arnauld, Angelique, 46.
 Arnold, Matthew, 23.
 Arnold, Thomas, 8, 25, 57.
 Ashby, Henry, 161, 167, 168, 172.
 Ashton, Thomas, 40, 211.
 Ashworth, John, 16.
 Aspland, Lindsey M., 87.
 Aspland, Robert Brook, 22, 41, 62, 87, 105.
 Asquith, Herbert Henry, 146, 166, 200.
 Astor, Waldorf, 173.
 Augusta, Princess, 123.
 Augustine, 47, 68.
 Austen, Jane, 106.
 Avebury, Lord (Sir John Lubbock), 211.
 Balfour, Arthur James, 146.
 Barclay, Robert, 47.
 Barham, Thomas Foster, 4.
 Barker, Ernest, 67.
 Barlow, Sir Thomas, 173.
 Barnes, Charles, 5, 13, 105.
 Barnes, Mary, *see* Beard, Mrs. John Relly.
 Barnett, Mrs. S. A., 148.
 Barr, Martin, 170.
 Barrett, Wilson, 142.
 Bartram, Richard, 82.
 Baur, Ferdinand Christian, 21.
 Beard, Ann (*née* Paine), 1, 13.
 Beard, Annie, 13.
 Beard, Charles, 6, 8, 10, 23, 30, 32, 34, 36-75, 86, 87, 95, 111, 114, 119, 127, 128, 130, 158, 220.
 Beard, Mrs. Charles, 38, 39, 55, 64, 73, 75, 95, 120.
 Beard, Edward, 77.
 Beard, James Rait (1), 1, 13.
 Beard, James Rait (2), 14, 76-85, 144.
 Beard, John, 1, 3, 5, 105.
 Beard, John Relly, 1-35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 47, 70, 71, 76, 77, 79, 81, 87, 89, 109, 128, 130, 135, 142, 152, 195, 208.
 Beard, Mrs. John Relly, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 34, 35, 111.
 Beard, John Russell, 33, 59, 114.
 Beard, Joseph, 1.
 Beard, Kate, 77.
 Beard, Lewis, 86-93.
 Beard, Mary (*née* Wilkinson), 79.
 Beard, Mary Shipman, 95-103.
 Beard, Richard, 1.
 Beard, Richard Bowden, 1, 77.
 Beesley, Edward Spencer, 136.
 Bell, Jeffrey, 205.
 Bellows, Henry William, 11.
 Belsham, Thomas, 46.
 Binns, William, 18, 30.
 Birrell, Augustine, 173.
 Blakely, Fletcher, 22.
 Bosanquet, Bernard, 186, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 215.
 Bosanquet, Helen (*née* Dendy), 185-204, 215.
 Bouzique, E. M., 19.
 Bowie, W. Copeland, 139, 141.
 Bowman, Eddowes, 37.
 Bowring, Charles Tricks, 58.
 Bowring, Sir John, 41, 76.
 Bowyer, Mr., 2.

- Boyle, James Kerr, 13.
 Bradley, A. C., 51, 65.
 Bright, James Franck, 69.
 Broadfield, Edward J., 147.
 Broadhurst, Sir Edward Tootal,
 211.
 Brooke, Stopford A., 133.
 Brooks, James, 38, 39.
 Brotherton, Edward, 49.
 Brougham, Henry (Lord), 9.
 Browett, Thomas, 88.
 Brown, Campbell, 51.
 Browne, Sir J. Crichton, 166.
 Brunner, John, 86.
 Brunner, Sir John, 86.
 Brunton, Sir Lauder, 166.
 Bryce, James (Viscount), 67, 99.
 Buck, Florence, 180.
 Buckland, George, 26.
 Butler, Henry Montagu, 196.
 Butler, Joseph, 68.
 Butler, Samuel, 8.
 Byrne, Sir William, 158, 159.
 Cabot, Dr., 197.
 Caffyn, Matthew, 128.
 Calvin, John, 68.
 Campbell, Thomas, 3.
 Careson, A., 20.
 Carlyle, Thomas, 191.
 Carpenter, Joseph Estlin, 99, 113.
 Carpenter, Lant, 26.
 Carpenter, Mrs. Lant, 46.
 Carpenter, Mary, 113, 114.
 Carpenter, Philip Pearsall, 113.
 Carpenter, William Benjamin, 113.
 Carruthers, Robert, 37.
 Carter, Sir James, 3.
 Carter, John Bonham, 3.
 Casartelli, Louis, 164.
 Cawston, Sarah Ann, 136, 137, 138,
 140, 142, 143, 181, 184, 206,
 207, 208.
 Cecil, Robert (Viscount), 100.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 141, 146.
 Channing, William Ellery, 44, 47,
 48.
 Chappé, Mons., 115.
 Charles I, 121.
 Chorley, Helen, 114.
 Chorley, Mr., 114.
 Clayden, Peter William, 58.
 Clodd, Edward, 144.
 Cobbe, Frances Power, 114.
 Cobden, Mrs. Richard, 112.
 Colani, Timothy, 21.
 Colenso, John William, 59.
 Collins, Sir W. J., 121.
 Colston, John, 22.
 Colwyn, Lord, 134.
 Conrad, Joseph, 92.
 Conway, Robert Seymour, 171.
 Cooke, Joseph, 16.
 Coquerel, Athanase, 18.
 Coquerel, Athanase (Jr.), 19.
 Courtauld, Ada Margaret, *see*
 Dendy, Mrs. Arthur.
 Courtauld, Louis, 206.
 Courtauld, Samuel, 137, 138, 142.
 Courtauld, Sydney, 137, 140.
 Cowper, William, 6.
 Crains, Herr, 7.
 Cranmer, Thomas, 23.
 Credner, Carl August, 20, 33.
 Crewe, Lord, 173.
 Cromwell, Canon, 140.
 Crosskey, Henry William, 37.
 Crossley, Mrs. F. W., 164.
 Crozier, Robert, 33.
 Cuckson, John, 32.
 Dalton, John, 27, 109, 110.
 Darbshire, Robert Dukinfield, 72.
 Darbshire, Samuel Dukinfield, 59.
 Darwin, Francis, 173.
 Davidson, Samuel, 16.
 Davies, John, 114, 129.
 Davies, J. Llewelyn, 162.
 Day, Elizabeth, 144.
 Dendy, Arthur, 110, 144, 202, 204,
 205-22.
 Dendy, Mrs. Arthur (*née* Courtauld),
 206, 210.
 Dendy, Edward, 121.
 Dendy, Edward Stephen, 126.
 Dendy, Helen, *see* Bosanquet, Helen.
 Dendy, Helen Maria, 126.
 Dendy, Henrietta, 215.
 Dendy, Henry, 206.
 Dendy, John (Primus), 122, 128.
 Dendy, John (Sr.), 119, 122, 128,
 135, 185, 205.
 Dendy, John (Jr.), 124, 127, 128-34,
 136, 144, 198, 202, 211, 215,
 216.
 Dendy, Mrs. John, 129, 132.

- Dendy, Mary, 89, 90, 99, 135-84,
 185, 190, 192, 195, 197, 198,
 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211,
 213, 214, 215, 221.
 Dendy, Oliver, 156.
 Dendy, Otwell, 121.
 Dendy, Randolph, 121.
 Dendy, Richard Caffyn, 122, 123.
 Dendy, Robert, 149.
 Dendy, Sarah (*née* Beard), 104, 128,
 135, 185, 205.
 Dendy, Sarah Louisa, 144, 185, 215.
 Dendy, Stephen, 123, 124.
 Dendy, Vera Ellen, 141.
 Dendy, Walter Barnes, 106.
 Dendy, Walter Cooper, 126. —
 Derby, Lord, 165.
 Dicey, Mrs. Albert, 95.
 Dickens, Charles, 92, 141.
 Dickens, Charles (Jr.), 141.
 Dilke, Sir Charles, 146.
 Disraeli, Benjamin, 196.
 Dodd, J. T., 7.
 Domanski, Mons., 115.
 Donkin, H. Bryan, 167, 175.
 Drummond, James, 50, 82.
 Drummond, William Henry, 22.
 Duffield, Mrs., 112.
 Dugit, Mons., 115.
 Edings, Charlotte (Lady Beard), 88.
 Edings, Joseph D., 88.
 Edwards, J. Passmore, 27.
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 119.
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 67.
 Erroll, Earl of, 19.
 Evans, George Eyre, 56.
 Evans, John, 17.
 Evelegh, Mrs. H. J. (*née* Beard), 102.
 Evershed, Henrietta (*née* Dendy),
 122.
 Evershed, John, 122, 125.
 Evershed, Rebecca, 126.
 Evershed, William, 122, 124.
 Ewald, Heinrich, 21.
 Fawcett, Mrs. Henry, 145.
 Fernald, Dr., 169, 170, 177.
 Field, Alice, 116.
 Field, Lucy, 116.
 Field, William, 116.
 Fildes, Luke, 44.
 Finlay, Robert, 36.
 Fletcher, John, 114.
 Forbes, Archibald, 153.
 Förster, Wilhelm, 127.
 Foster, William, 29.
 Fox, George, 89.
 Fox, Sir Robert E., 89, 93.
 Fox, William Johnson, 17, 18, 29.
 Froebel, Friedrich, 7.
 Fry, A. Ruth, 100.
 Fullagar, John, 122.
 Fuller, Loie, 183.
 Galton, Sir Francis, 167.
 Gardiner, William, 126.
 Gaskell, Elizabeth Cleghorn, 31, 32,
 80.
 Gaskell, William, 20, 22, 24, 29, 30,
 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 61, 105.
 George III, 123.
 George, Lloyd, 89.
 Gibbs, J. Binney, 81.
 Gilbert, William S., 89.
 Gladstone, Mary, 69.
 Gladstone, William Ewart, 58, 68,
 146.
 Gonner, E. C. K., 196.
 Gordon, Alexander, 45, 63, 67, 72.
 Gordon, John, 40, 66, 67, 71, 72, 91.
 Gosse, Sir Edmund, 70.
 Gow, Henry, 203, 219.
 Green, Alexander Henry, 95.
 Green, Elizabeth, 98.
 Green, Henry, 7.
 Green, Peter, 102.
 Greenwood, Joseph George, 32.
 Grey, Lady, 175.
 Grundy, Miss, 113.
 Grundy, Charles S., 107.
 Grundy, Sir Cuthbert, 113.
 Haag, Hen., 20.
 Haetzer, Ludwig, 67.
 Haldane, R. S. (Viscount), 131, 196.
 Hales, Prof., 136.
 Hallé, Sir Charles, 152.
 Hamilton, Lord George, 196, 198.
 Harcourt, Sir William Vernon, 146.
 Hare, John, 142.
 Hargrove, Charles, 71, 95.
 Harland, John, 109.
 Harnack, Adolf, 67.
 Harris, George, 16, 29.
 Harrison, Frederic, 144.

- Hartley, David, 46.
 "Hay, Ian," 102.
 Henley, William Ernest, 175.
 Henry, Alexander, 10.
 Herdman, William Abbott, 213, 217.
 Hereford, Bp. of, *see* Percival, John.
 Herford, Brooke, 8, 24.
 Herford, Caroline, 98.
 Herford, Charles Harold, 70, 129.
 Herford, William Henry, 7, 98.
 Herford, W. V., 8.
 Heywood, Abel, 107.
 Heywood, Sir Benjamin, 105.
 Heywood, James, 17.
 Hicks, Edward Lee, 165.
 Hickson, Sydney J., 216, 219.
 Higgin, James, 129.
 Higgin, Lucy, *see* Dendy, Mrs. John.
 Higgin, Sarah, 112, 129.
 Hill, Frank Harrison, 120.
 Hill, Miranda, 88.
 Hill, Octavia, 148.
 Hobhouse, Emily, 162.
 Hodgkinson, Eaton, 111.
 Hogarth, Miss, 149.
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 211.
 Hood, Thomas, 2.
 Hopkinson, Sir Alfred, 216.
 Horniman, Miss, 171.
 Horsfield, Thomas Walker, 22.
 Houldsworth, Sir William, 161.
 Howes, Thomas George Bond, 211.
 Howitt, Alfred William, 207, 208.
 Howitt, Mary, 207.
 Howitt, William, 207.
 Howorth, Franklin, 22, 105, 112.
 Howorth, Sarah, 112, 113, 116, 117, 119, 168.
 Hoyle, William E., 168, 176, 213.
 Hutton, Richard Holt, 38.
 Huxley, Thomas Henry, 42, 211.
 Ibsen, Henrik, 142.
 Inge, William R., 133.
 Irving, Henry, 142.
 Jacks, Laurence Pearsall, 74, 82.
 James, Sir Henry, 146.
 James, William, 131.
 Jeffrey, John, 7.
 Jeffrey, Louisa Caroline, 7, 111, 115, 118.
 Jeffrey, Ruth, 111.
 Jevons, Henry, 59.
 Johns, Bessie, 109, 111.
 Johns, Catharine, 109.
 Johns, William, 22, 26, 109.
 Johns, Mrs. William, 110.
 Johnson, Henry Isaac, 86.
 Jones, Sir Henry, 131.
 Jones, H. Longueville, 10.
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir James P., 52.
 Keats, John, 126.
 Keble, John, 47.
 Kempe, Sir J. A., 89, 90.
 Kendal, Mr. and Mrs., 142.
 Kenrick, John, 4, 36, 38, 50.
 Kitto, John, 11.
 Knight, William, 73.
 Kossuth, Louis, 119.
 Labouchère, Henry, 146.
 Laing, Miss S. S., 6, 35.
 Lang, Andrew, 144.
 Lankester, Prof., 211.
 Lapáge, C. Paget, 172.
 Lardner, Nathaniel, 48.
 Lee, George, 22.
 Lees, Dame, Sarah, 168.
 Lepsius, Karl Richard, 127.
 Lewis, Leyson, 38.
 Lind, Jenny, 119.
 Lindsey, Theophilus, 8, 48.
 Linton, Mrs. Lynn, 147.
 Livingstone, Peter, 7, 117.
 Lloyd, John Briggs, 137.
 Loch, Sir Charles S., 165, 166, 186, 193.
 Locke, John, 18, 46.
 Lodge, Sir Richard, 165.
 Londonderry, Lord, 166.
 Louis Napoleon, 27.
 Lowther, John William, 146.
 Lucas, A. B., 207, 209.
 Luther, Martin, 68.
 McCallum, M., 186.
 McConnachie, James, 33.
 Macdonald, George, 13, 83.
 MacDougall, Alexander, 137.

- McDowell, John, 208.
 McKee, James Riddell, 6, 7, 36, 76, 115, 142.
 McKee, Mrs. J. R., 36, 111.
 McKee, Nelly, 142, 179.
 McKenna, Reginald, 173.
 MacKennel, Alexander, 163.
 Mackie, Ivie, 25, 107.
 MacLagan, William D., 164, 165.
 MacLagan, Mrs. W. D., 164.
 McLeod, Dr., 60.
 McMillan, Margaret, 102.
 Maine, Sir Henry J. S., 67.
 Malcolm, James, 122.
 Manfield, Sir Philip, 146.
 Marshall, Milnes, 205.
 Marshall, Thomas Lethbridge, 117.
 Martineau, Harriet, 7, 26, 115.
 Martineau, James, 4, 8, 17, 18, 22, 26, 34, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 57, 62, 73, 74, 105, 220.
 Martineau, Rachel, 117.
 Martineau, Russell, 17.
 Mason, Hugh, 53.
 Mazzini, Joseph, 28.
 Meade, Miss, 101.
 Meredith, George, 83.
 Milton, John, 7, 18, 30.
 Montgomery, Henry, 22.
 Morley, Henry, 11, 143.
 Morley, John, 68, 146.
 Mountford, William, 12.
 Muir, Ramsay, 65, 70.
 Murdoch, Marion, 180.
 Napier, William, 7, 116.
 Napoleon Buonaparte, 3, 19.
 Natal, Bp. of, *see* Colenso, J. W.
 Neander, Augustus, 37, 127.
 Neander, Fräulein, 127.
 Neave, Rev. Mr., 4.
 Newman, Francis William, 36, 37.
 Nicholls, John Ashton, 8, 39.
 Nicholson, J. W., 218.
 Niell, William, 88.
 Norfolk, Duke of, 126.
 O'Connor, Arthur Ellis, 137.
 Odgers, James Edwin, 44, 74.
 Onslow, Lord, 92.
 Owen, Grace, 102.
 Owen, Robert, 27.
 Palmer, Henry Vaughan, 115.
 Pankhurst, Mrs. Emmeline, 163.
 Parker, Theodore, 18, 144.
 Parr, Samuel, 116.
 Pascal, Blaise, 47, 65.
 Pater, Walter, 139.
 Paterson, A. Edgar, 129.
 Patten, George, 81.
 Paul, Charles Kegan, 45.
 Peel, Sir Robert, 27.
 Pender, Mr. and Mrs., 39.
 Percival, John (Bp. of Hereford), 99, 165.
 Percy, William, 33.
 Pestalozzi, 7, 86.
 Philips, Herbert, 161.
 Philips, Mark, 9.
 Philips, Robert, 12, 77.
 Philips, Robert N., 77.
 Pinker, Hope, 74.
 Pope, Samuel, 8.
 Porter, John Scott, 22.
 Potter, Crompton, 61, 62.
 Potter, Richard, 27.
 Potter, Sir Thomas, 9.
 Powell, B., 140.
 Poynting, Charles Thomas, 100.
 Poynting, John Henry, 130.
 Poynting, Thomas Elford, 37, 71, 128, 141.
 Prescott, Mrs., 118.
 Prescott, William H., 118.
 Pressensé, Edmond D. de, 20, 21.
 Price, E. C., 189.
 Priestley, Joseph, 8, 46, 47, 48.
 Queen Elizabeth, 123.
 Queen Victoria, 22, 66, 80.
 Rait, James, 1.
 Rathbone, William, 51.
 Rawnsley, H. D., 147.
 Rawson, Harry, 80, 107, 161.
 Redding, Cyril, 7.
 Reid, G. Archdall, 167.
 Relly, James, 1.
 Renan, Ernest, 19, 21, 64.
 Réville, Albert, 19, 20, 21, 25.
 Richmond and Gordon, Duke of, 49, 50.
 Ridley, Nicholas, 23.
 Ripon, Bp. of, 99.

- Ritchie, Dr., 166.
 Robberds, John Gooch, 22, 36, 116.
 Robberds, Mary, 116.
 Roberts, Joseph, 8.
 Robertson, Frederick William, 59.
 Robertson, Forbes, 142.
 Robertson, John, 137.
 Robinson, Sir John, 64.
 Rosebery, Lord, 116.
 Rothschild, Baron Meyer de, 116.
 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 8.
 Rowland, Mrs., 126.
 Rushton, Adam, 30.
 Rushton, Sir Charles, 146.
 Ruskin, John, 96.
 Russell, Charles E. B., 162.
 Russell, Edward (Lord), 87.
 Ryland, John Howard, 5.

 Sadler, Sir Michael, 95, 96, 97, 98,
 99, 103.
 St. Francis, 99.
 Sanders, Nicholas, 123.
 Saunders, Elizabeth, 123.
 Schwabe, Mrs. Salis, 119.
 Scott, Alexander John, 32.
 Scott, Charles Prestwich, 98, 105,
 161.
 Scott, Mrs. C. P., 147.
 Scott, Leslie, 173.
 Scott, Russell, 3, 4, 105, 108.
 Scott, Thomas, 21.
 Scott, Sir Walter, 92.
 Selwyn, Bp., 152.
 Servetus, Michael, 67.
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 176.
 Shann, Sir Thomas, 171, 176.
 Shawcross, Annie, 113.
 Shawcross, Helen, 113.
 Sheridan, R. Brinsley, 117.
 Sherrington, Sir Charles, 215.
 Shimmins, Hugh, 56.
 Shipman, Mary, 38.
 Shipman, Mary Ellen, *see* Mrs.
 Charles Beard.
 Shipman, Michael, 38.
 Shipman, Robert M., 120.
 Shuttleworth, Dr., 160.
 Sidgwick, Mrs. Arthur, 95.
 Sidgwick, Ethel, 96, 97, 101, 102.
 Sidgwick, Henry, 30.
 Sigwart, Christoph, 190.
 Sinker, John, 94.

 Smith, George Vance, 37.
 Smith, J. Frederick, 69.
 Smith, J. Lorrain, 168.
 Smith, J. Pye, 11.
 Smith, Sidney, 5.
 Smith, William, 3.
 Snowden, Philip, 178.
 Socinus, Faustus, 67.
 Spencer, Herbert, 42, 43.
 Spencer, Walter Baldwin, 206,
 209.
 Stansfield, James, 28.
 Stead, William T., 99.
 Steenwyck, Miss de Vos Van, 155.
 Steinthal, A. Ernest, 92.
 Steinthal, Samuel Alfred, 112, 119,
 168, 191.
 Stephens, Morse, 182.
 Story, W. W., 31.
 Strachey, J. St. Leo, 175, 176.
 Strauss, David Friedrich, 18.
 Strong, G., 133.
 Sutherland, Duchess of, 161.

 Tagart, Edward, 4.
 Tagart, Lucy, 180.
 Talguen, Mlle., 144.
 Tate, Sir Henry, 52, 107.
 Tate, William, 107.
 Tayler, John James, 20, 22, 26, 36,
 46, 50, 66.
 Taylor, John Edward, 108, 109.
 Thom, John Hamilton, 26, 41, 47,
 56.
 Thomasson, J. T., 164.
 Thorillon, Dr., 4.
 Tischendorf, Constantin, 21.
 Tolstoi, Leo, 96.
 Tosset, Mons., 115.
 Townsend, Charles William, 93.
 Tredgold, A. F., 172.
 Trevelyan, Sir Charles E., 77.
 Trevelyan, Sir George Otto, 77.
 Tuckerman, Joseph, 24.
 Tulloch, John, 66.
 Turner, Dawson, 86.
 Turner, William (Sr.), 22, 26.
 Turner, William (Jr.), 4.
 Tylor, Edward B., 144.
 Tyndall, John, 42.

 Unwin, T. Fisher, 147.
 Upton, Charles Barnes, 8, 13, 82.

- Van Horn, John, 26.
Voysey, Charles, 21.

Wall, Prof., 211.
Wallace, Robert, 22, 36.
Wallas, Graham, 96.
Ward, Mrs. Humphrey, 145, 146,
199.
Ward, James, 131.
Warren, John, 141.
Warren, Sarah Wilhelmina, 141.
Watney, Sir John, 177.
Watson, John, 48.
Watts, Mrs. George Frederick, 102.
Waugh, Edwin, 9.
Way, Arthur S., 152.
Weatherall, John Henry, 178.
Welch, James, 88.
Wellbeloved, Charles, 4, 5, 17, 18,
50.
Welldon, J. E. C., 165.
Wesley, Charles, 47.
Whitaker, William, 100.
Whitfield, George, 1.
Whitham, Charles Lawrence, 152.
Wicksteed, Charles, 26, 66.
Wicksteed, Philip Henry, 82, 136.

Wilkinson, Eliza, 79.
Wilkinson, John, 79.
Williams, Helene Maria, 19.
Williams, Rowland, 22, 23.
Williamson, Henry, 195.
Williamson, Joshua, 120.
Wilson, James Maurice, 165.
Wilson, John, 22.
Winser, Mary (*née* Beard), 59, 76.
"Winter, John Strange," 115.
Wolfe, James, 132.
Wood, Sir Evelyn, 137.
Wood, Joseph, 55.
Woodcock, Samuel, 160, 161.
Wordsworth, William, 144.
Worthington, Alfred, 8.
Worthington, Jeffrey, 118.
Worthington, Thomas, 8.
Worthington, William Barton, 8,
118.
Wyatt, Charles H., 148, 160, 163,
167, 168, 176.
Wyatt, Miss, 176, 178.
Wyndham, George, 142.

Yates, Archdeacon, 58.
Yates, James, 22.

GENERAL INDEX

- Aberdeen, 195.
 Aldred Lecture, 215.
 Altrincham, 129.
 American Civil War, 52.
 — Unitarian Association, 158.
 Amsterdam University, 220.
Ancient Law, 67.
 Ancoats, 144.
 Anglesey, 77.
 Anti-Corn Law League, 27.
 Anti-Slavery Association, 28.
A Quaker Adventure, 100.
Aspects of the Social Problems, 186, 188, 189.
 Association of Municipal Corporations, 89, 93.
 — for the Care of the Feeble-Minded, 165, 194.
 — for the Promotion of Higher Education, Liverpool, 51.
 Australia, 8, 77, 144, 147, 149, 152, 207, 213, 215, 222.
 Australian Association, 207, 208.
Autobiography of F. P. Cobbe, 114.
 Avignon, 102.

 Baker Billing Charity, 91.
Bases of Religious Belief (The), 8.
 Beard, Charles, Writings of :
 Apostleship of a Christian Church (Sermon), 39.
 Christianity in Common Life (Addresses), 54.
 Christianity and Social Duties (Addresses), 55.
 Commercial Morality (Sermon), 41.
 Duties and Hopes (Sermon), 41, 72.
 Election (Sermon), 44.
 Freedom of the Teacher (Lecture), 50.
 Jesus (Lecture), 45.
 Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany, 69, 88.
 Nonconformity in 1662 (Lecture), 66.
 Outlines of Christian Doctrine, 40.
 Parable of Florence (Sermon), 62.
 Pilgrim Fathers (The) (Lectures), 66, 67.
 Plain Advice in Times of Distress (Sermon), 52.
 Place of Theology among the Sciences (Sermon), 42.
 Port Royal, A Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature in France, 2 vols., 64, 65, 70, 73.
 Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (The), Hibbert Lectures, 67, 73.
 Sermon of Education, 49.
 Sermon on Trinity Sunday, 48.
 Soul's Way to God and Other Sermons, 43.
 Unitarian Position (The) (Sermon), 40.
 Universal Christ and other Sermons, 45.
 Beard, Charles, *Memoirs of*, 51.
 Beard, James Rait, Writings of :
 Provincial Assembly Address, 82.
 Religion and Trade, 82.
 Secret Fancies of a Business Man, 83.
 Sketches from the West Coast of Ireland, 83.
 Beard, John Relly, Writings of :
 Abuses of the Manchester Grammar School, 9.
 Anti-Papal Library, 19.
 Autobiography of Satan (The), 47.
 Christ, the Interpreter of Scripture, 17.

- Beard, John Relly, Writings of :
continued—
Confessional (The), 17.
Critical History of Rationalism in Germany, 17.
Government Plan of Education (The), 9.
Grounds and Objects of Religious Knowledge (The), 11.
Historical Evidences of Christianity, 4, 17.
Itinerary of the County of Lancaster, 7.
Latin Dictionary, 11, 70.
Latin Made Easy, 10.
Life of Christ, The Source and Pattern of Christian Influence (Sermon), 15.
People's Biographical Dictionary, 11.
People's Dictionary of the Bible, 11.
Period of Education (The), 10.
Religion of Jesus Christ Defended (The), 2.
Revised English Bible (A), 17.
Self-Culture, 11.
Unitarianism Exhibited in its Actual Condition, 25.
View of Romanism (A), 17.
Visitor to the Poor (The), 24.
Voices of the Church (The), 11, 17.
- Bedford College, 135, 178, 196.
 Belfast, 66.
 Berlin University, 37, 120, 127.
 Birmingham University, 130.
 Bishopthorpe, 164.
 Blackburn, 52, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93.
 — Education Committee, 90.
 — Girls' High School, 90.
 — Military Tribunal, 90.
 — War Pensions Committee, 90.
 Blackley Reformatory, 82.
 Board of Control, 176, 177, 179.
 — of Education, 219.
 Bocking, 137, 139, 143.
 Boer War, 97, 212.
 Bolton, 198.
 Bosanquet, Helen (*née* Dendy),
 Writings of :
Apology for False Statements, 190.
- Bernard Bosanquet, *A Short Account of his Life*, 191, 193, 204.
Children of the Working Classes, 186.
English Poor Law, 186.
Family (The), 196.
Free Trade and Peace in the Nineteenth Century, 203.
Housing Problem (The), 194.
How Much can the State Do? 194.
Industrial Residuum (The), 186, 187.
Logic by Christoph Sigwart, Translated by, 190.
Marriage in East London, 186, 187.
Meaning and Methods of True Charity, 186, 189.
Old Pensioners, 186, 187.
Poor Law Reform, 198.
Poor Law Report of 1909, 197.
Position of Women in Industry, 186.
Questions of Social Economics, 194.
Rich and Poor, 186, 188, 190, 199.
Social Worker in London (The), A History of the C.O.S., 200.
Standard of Life (The), 191, 193, 194.
Strength of the People (The), 194.
Zoar, A Book of Verse (with Bernard Bosanquet), 201.
- Boston, U.S.A., 22, 24, 172, 197.
 Bournemouth, 73, 199, 218.
 Braintree, 137, 139.
 Bredbury, 79.
 Bridgwater Canal, 121.
 Bristol, 114.
 British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 15, 40, 47, 80, 141.
 British Association (The), 42, 165, 172, 212, 214, 215, 216, 218, 222.
 — Columbia, 129.
 — Museum, 205, 206.
 Brixham, 1.
 Burnley, 52.

- Calcutta, 77.
 Calvinism, 1, 3, 5, 22.
 Cambridge, 87.
 — U.S.A., 22.
 Canada, 113, 114, 148, 149.
 Canterbury College, 209, 210.
 Cape Town, 214.
 Cardiff, 168, 176.
 Carisbrooke, 143.
 Carmarthenshire, 202.
Cassell's Popular Educator, 10, 187.
 Caterham, 192.
 Cathedrals, 58.
Challenger (The), 205.
 Chalôns, 100.
 Champéry, 97.
 Channing Centenary, 44.
 Charity Organisation Society, 165,
 172, 186, 189, 190, 191, 193,
 195, 200.
 Charleston, South Carolina, 88.
 Chartist Riots, 105.
 Chatham Islands, 211, 212, 220.
 Cheshire Association of Churches,
 39.
 — Education Committee, 166.
 Chetham Society, 109.
 Chetham's Library, 22.
 Cheyne Gardens, 191, 192.
 Childhood Society, Manchester, 166.
 Chorlton Public Offices, Man-
 chester, 119.
 Christchurch, New Zealand, 153,
 209, 210, 212, 213.
 Christian Fellowship Society, 12.
 Church Rates, 137.
 Clevedon, 101.
 Clifford's Inn Prize, 129.
 Clothmakers' Company, 196.
 Coal Strike of 1920, 133.
 Collyhurst Children's Committee,
 100, 101.
 — Guild for Social Service, 145.
 — Recreation Rooms, 82, 100, 144,
 145, 185.
 Commission on Local Taxation, 89,
 90.
 — on Street Trading, 162.
 Committee on Medical Inspection of
 School Children, 162.
 Communion Service, 45.
 Concentration Camps, 162.
Concessions of Trinitarianism, 22.
 Conference on Social Hygiene, 166,
 172.
 Cotton Famine, 14, 52, 76.
 Coventry, 88, 91.
Critic (The), 117.
 Cycling, 184, 192.
Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, 11.
 Dances, 115.
Data of Ethics (The), 43.
 Daventry Academy, 3.
 David Lewis Trustees, 164.
 Dendy, Arthur, Writings of :
 Biological Foundations of
 Society, 215, 220.
 Biology, 219.
 Introduction to the Study of
 Botany (with A. B. Lucas),
 209.
 Man's Account with the Lower
 Animals, 218.
 Memoir on Sponges Collected by
 Terra Nova Expedition,
 221.
 Momentum in Evolution, 215.
 Notes on the Planarians of
 Tasmania and South Aus-
 tralia, 209.
 Outlines of Evolutionary Biology,
 215, 217.
 Sponges (Encyclopædia Britan-
 nica 1911), 216.
 Dendy, John, Writings of :
 Impressions of British Columbia,
 131.
 Larger Life (The), 131.
 Memoirs of Mrs. John Dendy,
 132.
 Sonnets after Loss, 132.
 Successful Life, 131.
 Sunday School Teachers as
 Social Reformers, 131.
 Dendy Laboratory (The), 222.
 Dendy, Mary, Writings of :
 Address to Manchester Statistical
 Society, 161.
 Dick and Dandy, 141, 147.
 Edith, A Story, 136.
 Feeble-Minded (The), 169.
 Feeble-mindedness in Children of
 School Age (by C. P.
 Lapage, with appendix by
 Mary Dendy), 172.

- Dendy, Mary, Writings of : *cont.*—
 Flies in Amber, 147.
 Girls, their Duties, Difficulties, and Desires, 142.
 Lessons for Little Ones, 141.
 Notes for Teachers, 142.
 Only a Business Man, 141.
 Union and Work, 145.
 Workers or Wastrels (C.O.S. Review), 169.
Dictionary of National Biography, 35, 175.
 Disestablishment, 28, 57, 140.
 Dorpat University, 26.
 Double Personality, 188.
 Dover, 37.
 Downham, 16.
 Dublin, 46.
 — Theatre Royal, 200.
 Dukinfield, 53.
 Dunham Park, 121.

 East Cheshire Christian Union, 40.
 Écoles Maternelles, 98.
 Edict of Nantes, 137.
 Edinburgh, 168, 195, 200.
 — Philosophical Institution, 66.
 Education Act, 1870, 10.
 — Bill, 1896, 148.
 Egypt, 127.
 Ejected Ministers, 141.
Encyclopædia Britannica, 216.
 Enquiry into Moral Training, 99.
Essays and Reviews, 22.
 Essex Hall, London, 191, 192.
 "Ewhurst," 129, 143, 191.

Father and Son, 70.
First Page in the History of University College, Liverpool, 51.
 Florence, 44.
 Flower Fund, 98.
 Folk Lore Society, 144.
 Folly House, High Garrett, 136, 137, 138, 142, 143, 181, 206.
 Forward Movement of Manchester Churches, 80, 131, 148.
 France, 20, 57, 100.
 Franco-German War, 54.
 Free-Thinking Christians, 6.
 Free Trade, 9, 203.
 — — Hall, Manchester, 119, 136.

 French Revolution, 19.
 Friends, 100, 202, 219.

 Gaiety Theatre, Manchester, 171.
 General Assembly of Unitarian Churches, 49.
 — Election, 1885, 140.
 German Oriental Society, 127.
 Germany, 37, 38, 177.
 Giessen University, 33.
 Gifford Lectures, 200.
 Glasgow, 22, 195.
 — University, 165.
 Godley, 79.
 Golders Green, 202, 214.
 Great War, 84, 132, 177, 180, 201, 217.
 Greece, 192.
 "Greencote," 178.

 Halstead, 137.
 Harvard University, 8.
 Hayfield, 207.
 Healough, 21.
 Henshaw's Blind Asylum, 163.
 Herald's College, 126.
 Hibbert Fund, 130, 133.
 — Scholarship, 37.
 High Garrett, 136, 137, 140, 143, 181, 206.
Histoire des Dogmes Chrétiennes, 20.
History of Christianity, 19.
History of Dogma, 67.
Holy Roman Empire, 67.
 Homerton Academy, 3, 11.
 Home Rule Bill, 58.
 Hookwood, Surrey, 123.
 House of Commons, 86, 146, 173.
 Housing, 56, 148.
 Hoxton Academy, 3.
 Hudson River, 157.

 Immaculate Conception, 69.
Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography, 11.
 Inner Temple, 87.
 International Congress on the Feeble-Minded, 166.
 — Council of Unitarians, 25.
 — Council of Women, 169.
 Islam, 8.
 Italy, 59, 60, 61, 62, 73, 96, 99, 129, 142.

- Jamaica, 200.
 Jansenist Movement, 65.
 Jew Baiting, 58.

 Kersal Moor, 121.
 Keswick, 86.
 King's College, London, 214, 218, 219, 222.
 Knutsford, 71, 79, 84.
 Kyrle Society, 87.

 Labour Churches, 163.
 Ladybarn School, Manchester, 98, 99, 103.
 Lady Hewley Fund, 4.
 Lake Kelowno, British Columbia, 156, 169.
 Lampeter College, 22.
 Lancashire and Cheshire Missionary Society, 24.
 — — Society for the Permanent Care of the Feeble-Minded, 90, 163, 165, 178.
 — Independent College, 16.
 — Public Schools Association, 9.
 Lane-Scott House, 179.
 League of Nations, 133.
 Leam House School, 116, 117.
 Leeds, 164.
 Lees House, 179.
 Leigh Place, Reigate, 123, 124, 126.
 Leipsic Royal Historico-Theological Society, 33.
 Les Baux, 102.
 Lewes, 22.
 Leyden University, 220.
Life of Johnson, 193.
Life of Scott, 193.
 Linnæan Society, 206, 214.
 Liverpool Controversy (The), 41, 42.
 — District Association of Churches, 47.
 — — Provident Society, 54.
 — Domestic Mission Society, 56.
 — Hospital Fund, 56.
 — Institute, 50.
 — Liberal Association, 57.
 — North-End Domestic Mission Society, 56.
 — Royal Institution School, 86.
 — University, 90.
 Local Government Association, 172.
 — Government Board, 90.

 London County Council, 89.
 — Ethical Society, 189, 191, 192.
 — Library, 198.
 — School Board, 194.
 — School of Economics, 98.
 — University, 36, 37.
 Lytham, 112.

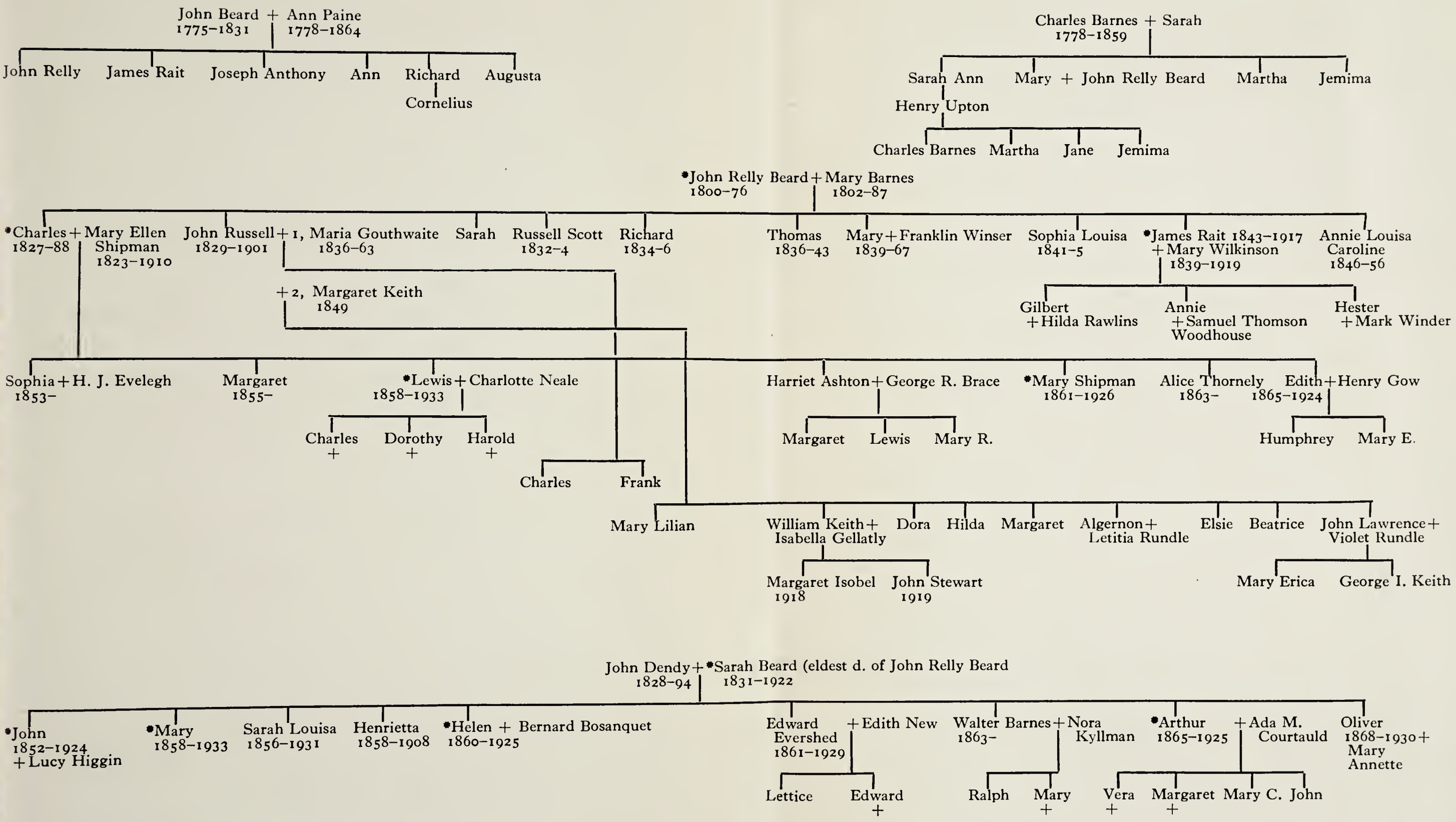
 Madras, 8.
 Manchester and Salford Educational Aid Association, 49.
 — Athenæum, 119.
 — Board of Guardians, 145.
 — College, 4, 8, 17, 18, 20, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 49, 50, 73, 74, 80, 91, 105, 114, 117, 119, 120, 122, 128, 129, 130, 178, 203.
 — Distress Committee, 162.
 — District Unitarian Association, 24, 80, 130, 131, 148.
 — Domestic Mission Society, 24, 130.
 — Education Committee, 113, 162, 166, 171, 176.
 — Free Library, 28.
 — Girls' High School, 144, 171, 185.
 — Grammar School, 7, 107, 205.
 — Jubilee Exhibition, 7.
 — Ladies' Literary Club, 162.
 — Literary and Philosophical Society, 27, 82, 109, 110, 166, 212.
 — Mechanics' Institution, 11.
 — Race Course, 121.
 — Reform Club, 82.
 — School Board, 147, 148, 160, 161, 162, 163, 184.
 — Society for Promoting National Education, 9.
 — Statistical Society, 160, 167.
 — Unitarian Sunday School Union, 24.
 — University, 32, 98, 144, 167, 171, 185, 205, 208, 212, 219.
 — Village Missionary Society, 24, 36.
 — Warehousemen and Clerks' Orphan School, 82.
 — Whitsuntide Festivities, 121.
 Maori War, 8.
 Marine Laboratory, Plymouth, 216.
Marius the Epicurean, 139.
 Marriage of Dissenters, 27, 28.

- Married Women Teachers, 170.
 Mason College, 130.
 Melbourne, 152, 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 217, 220.
 — University, 152, 206.
Memorial of Ten Years of Happy Work, 129.
 Memorial Hall, Manchester, 24, 29, 33, 50, 80, 81, 130.
 Mental Deficiency Act, 89, 178.
 Merchant Taylors' School, Blundellsands, 95.
 Methodism, 16, 20.
 Methodist College, Manchester, 164.
 Millport Biological Station, 205.
 Ministerial Stipends, 5, 12.
 Ministers' Stipend Augmentation Fund, 80.
 Mold, 135.
 Monthly Meeting of Ministers, 24, 70.
 Mount Pleasant Day and Sunday Schools, Liverpool, 49, 51.
 Natal, 77.
 National Conference of Unitarian Churches, 45, 48, 80, 198.
 — Industrial Council for the Non-Trading Services of Local Authorities, 90.
 — Public Schools Association, 9.
 Needham, Mass., 84.
 New Jersey Training School, 156, 170.
New Moral World (The), 2.
 New Orleans, 1.
 Newnham College, Cambridge, 185, 186, 189, 204.
 Newport, Isle of Wight, 128, 143, 144, 146, 185, 205.
 Newton Abbot, 1.
 New Zealand, 110, 147, 152, 209, 210, 211, 213, 220, 222.
 Nicholls Hospital, Manchester, 8, 22.
 "Noah's Ark," 178, 179.
 Normandy, 129.
 North and East Lancashire Mission, 44.
 Northern Circuit, 87.
 Norway, 129.
 Norwich, 3.
 Nuremberg, 166.
 Nursery Schools, 101.
 — School Association, 101, 102.
 Office of Special Inquiries, Board of Education, 97.
 Ordsall Hall, Salford, 164.
 Ostend, 37.
 Otira Gorge, 152, 154, 210.
 Owens College, *see* Manchester University.
 Owlet Society, 140.
 Oxford, 144, 186, 193.
 — University Delegacy, 95, 97.
 — University Extension Lectures, 129, 147.
 Oxshott, 193, 195, 197, 215.
 Padiham, 24.
 Palestine, 31.
 Paris, 97, 98.
 Patricroft, 128, 135, 185, 205.
 Pendlebury Children's Hospital, 130, 134.
 Pendleton, 7, 76.
 Penmaenmawr, 59, 61.
 Pennsylvania Training School, 170.
 Philosophical Institute, Canterbury, New Zealand, 212.
 Pickpockets, 188.
Pickwick Papers, 92.
 Plan of a University for Manchester, 10.
 Pleasant Sunday Afternoons, 163.
 Pleasures of Hope, 3.
 Portsmouth, 1, 3, 5, 6, 105, 214.
Positive Aspects of Unitarian Christianity, 45.
 Preston, 18, 52.
 Principles of Church Reform, 25.
 Pronunciation of English, 22.
 Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire, 5, 15, 18, 40, 47, 72, 80, 130, 131.
 — Letters, 64.
 Queen's College, Melbourne, 206, 207, 208.
 Quekett Microscopical Club, 218.
 Ramsgate, 21.
 Religion and Life, 82.
Reminiscences of a Civil Servant, 90.

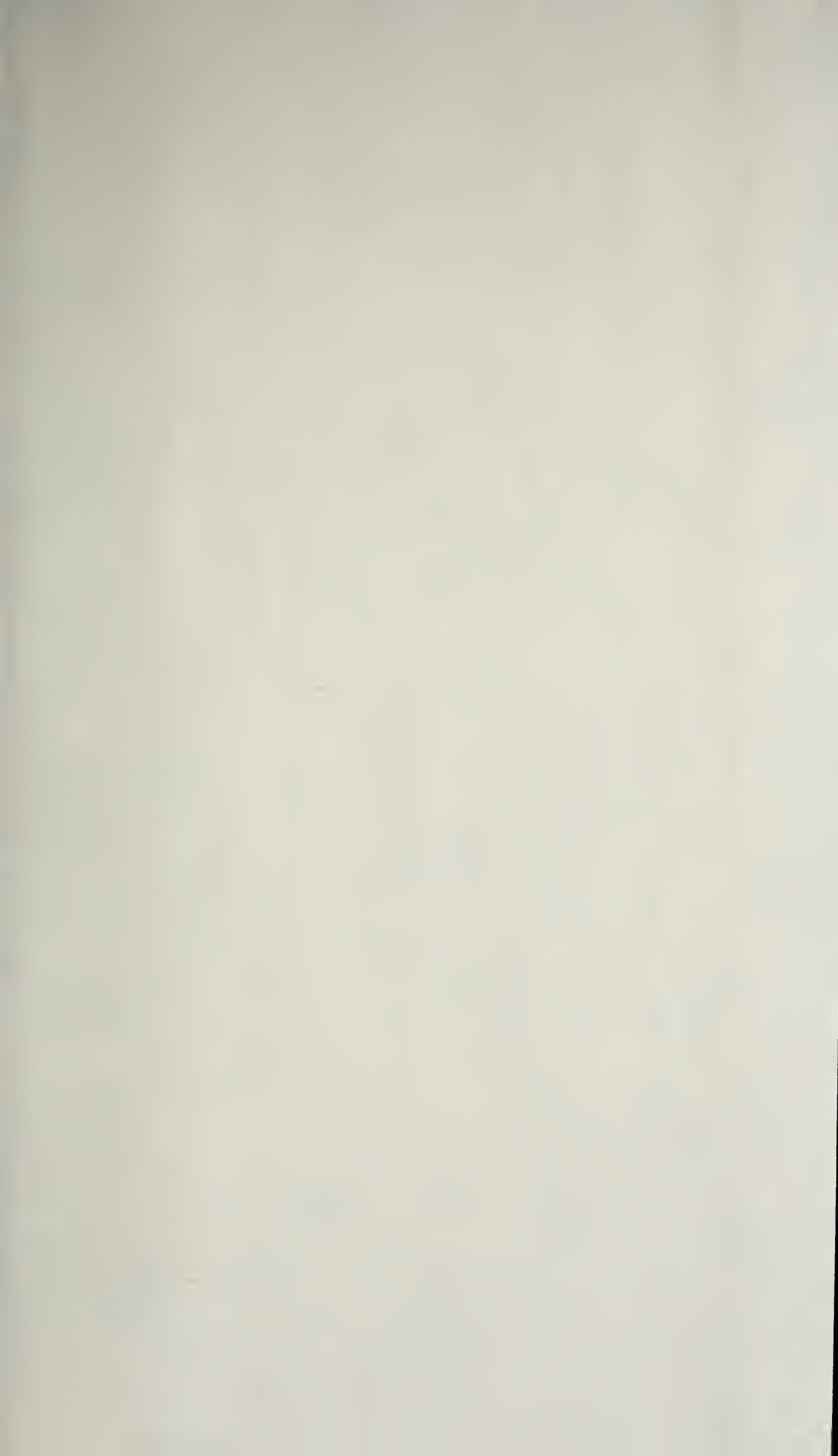
- Report of Challenger Expedition, 205.
- Repository (The) ("Poz"), 37, 120.
- Rescue*, by Conrad, 92.
- Rivals (The)*, 117.
- Riviera, 83, 142.
- Roman Catacombs, 59.
- Catholicism, 60.
- Rome, 31, 142, 194, 195.
- Rosamund Day Nursery, 100, 102, 103.
- Rotunda Theatre, London, 187.
- Royal Belfast Academical Institution, 6.
- Commission on County Boroughs, 90, 92, 93.
- — on Feeble-Minded, 166, 167, 169, 175.
- — on Poor Laws, 185, 196, 197, 198, 204.
- Royal George*, 6.
- Royal Society, 211.
- — Commission, 218.
- — of Arts, 215.
- — Tasmania, 211.
- — Victoria, 211, 216.
- Russia, 84.
- St. Andrews University, 73, 194, 198.
- Salford Nursery School, 102.
- Sandlebridge, 99, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 178, 179, 182.
- Save the Children Fund, 101.
- Scotland, 61, 195.
- Scriptural Claims of the Devil (The)*, 3.
- Secular Education League, 99.
- Silesia, 127.
- Society of the Friends of Italy, 28.
- for Women's Guardians, 147.
- Socratic Society, Birmingham, 193.
- South Africa, 97, 162, 212, 222.
- South African College, Capetown, 212, 213.
- South Manchester Women's Liberal Association, 145.
- Spectacles for Young Eyes*, 135.
- Sponges, 213, 215, 216.
- Stafford House, 161.
- Stand Grammar School, 129.
- Storm at Sea, 77, 78.
- Strangeways Sunday School, 14, 36.
- Summerseat, 113.
- Sunday School Anniversaries, 148.
- — Association, 130, 131.
- Surrey, 96.
- Education Committee, 166.
- Sustentation Fund, 130.
- Switzerland, 59, 98, 129, 132, 142, 143, 172, 192.
- "Syllabubs," 125.
- Syria, 19.
- Tasmania, 217.
- Tavistock, 7.
- Tedfold, 122, 124, 125, 126.
- Temperance Society, Monton, 130, 136.
- Torquay, 83, 84.
- Towards Educational Peace*, 99.
- Tower Hill, Horsham, 122.
- — Worsley, 128.
- Toynbee Hall, 148.
- Travel in Australia, 149, 150, 151.
- in British Columbia, 156.
- in New Zealand, 153, 154.
- in 1914, 158, 159.
- Trinity Bill, 4.
- College, Cambridge, 87, 173.
- Tübingen School, 21.
- Unitarian Home Missionary Board (Unitarian College), 8, 25, 28, 29, 32, 35, 49, 71, 72, 85, 89, 91, 128, 130.
- Laymen's League, 133.
- United Kingdom Alliance, 57.
- Universalism, 1.
- University College, Liverpool, 51, 74.
- — Oxford, 69.
- Hall, London, 17.
- of New Zealand, 212.
- Vancouver, 155.
- Venice, 60.
- Vie de Jésus*, 21.
- Wales, 61, 112.
- Walhalla, 149, 150, 207.
- Warford Hall, 168, 179.
- Lodge, 179.
- Warrington, 114.

- Waterloo, 3.
Watermen's Company, 196.
Waverley, Boston, 157, 170, 172,
177.
West Riding Missionary Association,
47.
Weybridge, 214, 215.
Widows' Fund, 24, 47.
Wigan, 52.
- Women's Congregational Union,
Monton, 130.
— Co-operative Guilds, 163.
— Suffrage Movement, 145, 147,
180, 181, 199, 200.
- York Minster, 164.
- Zoological Society, 214.

- Waterloo, 3.
Watermen's Company, 196.
Waverley, Boston, 157, 170, 172,
177.
West Riding Missionary Association,
47.
Weybridge, 214, 215.
Widows' Fund, 24, 47.
Wigan, 52.
- Women's Congregational Union,
Monton, 130.
— Co-operative Guilds, 163.
— Suffrage Movement, 145, 147,
180, 181, 199, 200.
- York Minster, 164.
- Zoological Society, 214.



* Denotes one whose life is sketched.





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